# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-052
Friday
19 March 1993

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*FBIS-EEU-93-052* *19 March 1993*

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## Izetbegovic Walks Out of New York Talks

*AU1803194993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] The technicians have just told us that we have received a statement by Alija Izetbegovic, President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, from New York, about a break in further talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Let us listen:

[Izetbegovic] I would like to announce that this morning—I do not know, it is morning here in America [words indistinct], primarily with U.S. representative Bartholomew and then subsequently with Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen. We informed them that under the present circumstances—and here I refer to the bad news that we have received from Sarajevo, Srebrenica, and Bjeljina—that under these circumstances we cannot continue with the talks.

We have not finally broken off the talks, but we have said that until the situation changes we cannot continue with the talks. Namely, we have received very bad news about [words indistinct] which you know better, about [words indistinct] ultimatum to the residents to lay down their arms. This would definitely mean further killing of the population in Srebrenica. Furthermore, we received reports about an general attack on the town [Sarajevo] with tanks, a heavy bombardment of the town, infantry attacks from various directions, especially the region of Stup, Butmir, and the airport. Naturally we also have received a report [words indistinct] that ethnic cleansing in Bjeljina is continuing. Under these circumstances we see no purpose in continuing the negotiations here. We have demanded that they use [words indistinct] to stop this. If they succeed, we will continue negotiations. Of course, when I say negotiations, this means exclusively negotiations with Vance and Owen, and not with Karadzic and his representatives. Such negotiations are out of the question.

At the same time, an hour ago we made an initiative with the UN Security Council to hold an urgent session of the UN Security Council in view of the latest developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Naturally, this again concerns Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Bjeljina, and the continued ethnic cleansing there. We demand an immediate session of the UN Security Council and the adoption of a relevant resolution and measures to stop this. While we are here, we will make further approaches to the U.S. Government to use its influence finally to stop the killing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, we will stay for two of three more days to see whether we succeed in stopping this misfortune. Depending on whether we succeed, we will continue negotiations or we will break them off for good.

This is all I can say at the moment. We are now waiting for the international powers to react, and we appeal to our army to do everything in its power to save the people as best they can and we will make sure that it gets what it needs. I was very clear this morning in the talks with Mr. Bartholomew. I told him that we expect the U.S. Government to define what it can do and what it cannot. I told them: You do not owe anything to Bosnia, but you owe us the truth as to what you can do to stop the killing in Bosnia. We believe that you can do a lot, perhaps you can do everything; but tell us the truth. Therefore, once we receive the news, we will behave accordingly. I said here that a nation brought to a situation like the present one, and whose existence is at stake, has the right to use all means to survive and persevere and we will use these means.

This is all from New York for the time being. My message is, of course, to keep going. [Word indistinct] we will fight for Bosnia-Herzegovina and our people with military and political means. Thank you!

## Karadzic Comments on Walk-Out

*AU1803220693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Report by Milorad Denda from New York]

[Text] At the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina in New York a turnabout took place today which seriously threatens the possibility of arriving at an agreement on accepting the Vance-Owen plan. Namely, the controversial Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic arrived at his first meeting with Vance and Owen at this third round of New York talks and after about 15 minutes walked out of the negotiations. He told the surprised journalists that, as he put it, bad news has been arriving from Bosnian as of last night and this morning. He stated more precisely that an attack on Srebrenica is allegedly under way, that Serbian troops and tanks are allegedly attacking the Sarajevo region, and that ethnic cleansing is under way in Bijeljina.

Thus, explaining his most recent flight from essential negotiations, Izetbegovic said that under such conditions we cannot negotiate and added that nevertheless he will not interrupt negotiations but will remain in the hotel waiting for the Serbs to stop the alleged attacks.

This new move, which will make the negotiations more difficult and additionally complicate an already uncertain situation has come at the moment when Fred Eckhard, spokesman for Vance and Owen, was predicting at a news conference that Izetbegovic will sign the remaining part of the Vance-Owen plan, the one about the maps.

Radovan Karadzic who arrived for the talks with Vance and Owen and Mate Boban, leader of the Bosnian Croats, two hours ago, at the news that Izetbegovic walked out of the talks said the following: I could have told you this in advance. He rejected the accusations about Serbian attacks and said that it is Muslims who are attacking Serbian positions in Ilijas and Ilidza. He also said that it is not true that convoys with humanitarian aid have been stopped, but he remarked that the Muslims in Srebrenica have received military aid and radio

equipment and asked whether that arrived with humanitarian convoys or by parachutes. He also asked what two American officers who are disguising themselves as British are doing in Srebrenica.

In reply to the question about his opinion about the preparations that a Security Council resolution on use of force in the no-fly zones in Bosnia be adopted already on Monday [22 March], Karadzic said that if the resolution is adopted that would additionally complicate the situation.

By the way, it can be learned in the diplomatic sources that France and Britain who used to oppose Washington in adopting such a resolution are now agreeing for it to be adopted, something that is a new additional pressure on the Serbian side in this important stage of New York talks. Such an approach by Western powers, which want to attain their goals with pressures on Serbia, Yugoslavia, and the Bosnian Serbs has also been objectively making more difficult the negotiating position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic pointed this out in his talks today with Chinese and British ambassadors to the United Nations. In these talks, Jovanovic pointed to the necessity to abolish the sanctions and to accept the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a partner in searching for peace and not as a side against which one establishes punitive measures.

Today, Vladislav Jovanovic should meet Clinton's envoy Bartholomew and the New Zealand ambassador, who is the chairman of the Security Council this month.

The Conference's Cochairman Lord Owen announced that he and Cyrus Vance will go this evening to Alija Izetbegovic's hotel to work out the continuation of the negotiations. It remains to be seen how this situation will be overcome.

## Meets With Vance, Owen; Denies UN Convoy Stopped

*LD1803224093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2213 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] New York, March 18 (TANJUG)—Less than two hours after Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic temporarily left the peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen held the first joint meeting with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban in the New York UN headquarters on Thursday [18 March].

On hearing that Izetbegovic had left the negotiations, Boban said that it was necessary to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia, and that negotiations must not be abandoned.

'I could have told you in advance,' Karadzic told journalists. He added that Izetbegovic's accusations over the alleged Serbian offensive on Sarajevo were false. The Moslems were the ones attacking Serbian positions and using heavy artillery to pound the suburbs of Ilijas and Ilidza, said Karadzic.

Karadzic said reports that a humanitarian convoy bound for Srebrenica (eastern Bosnia) had been stopped, as reported on Thursday morning by the United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) headquarters in Kiseljak, were incorrect.

Asked by CNN television to comment on the as yet unconfirmed information that the United Nations Security Council was preparing a resolution for the enforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia, Karadzic said: 'If they do that, then the situation will become more complicated.'

Karadzic added that Germany wished to get directly involved in the Bosnian conflict by participating in relief flights. 'We are opposed to this,' said Karadzic.

Karadzic said that the Moslems in Srebrenica had received military aid and radio equipment, but that he did not know if this had been smuggled through in the overland relief convoys or by air.

Karadzic asked what were two U.S. officers (with UNPROFOR Bosnia commander General Morillon) doing in Srebrenica, and why nothing had been said so far.

## Jovanovic Promises Intervention on Convoy Blockade

*LD1803230793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] New York, March 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic on Thursday [18 March] promised the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, he would immediately intervene that the humanitarian convoy, which has allegedly been stopped in Serbia, be allowed to proceed for Srebrenica, in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Jovanovic said the hold-up was the result of stubborness of the head of the armed escort of the convoy who, contrary to standard procedure, refused to allow an inspection of the cargo.

The developments around the convoy caused a lot of confusion in the U.N. headquarters. First the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva welcomed the agreement on letting the convoy through with a smaller armed escort. However, later on, the head of the U.N. peacekeepers in Kiseljak, Bosnia-Herzegovina, said there had been another hold-up.

TANJUG has learned that the UNHCR convoy started off for Srebrenica at 13:30 (local time) on Thursday unannounced, along the right bank of the Drina River, on the Yugoslav side, and not along the agreed route on the Bosnian side.

A spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general, Joe Sills, said on Thursday he believed the matter was a misunderstanding between higher authorities and the local command which, it seems, did not receive the order to let the convoy pass.

The Bosnian Serb military authorities had earlier given permission for the convoy to pass through territory they control, along the agreed route.

### Minister Denies Influence on Bosnian Serbs

*LD1803232693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2220 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] New York, March 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on Thursday [18 March] that Yugoslavia's influence on Bosnian Serbs should not be overestimated.

After talks with the ambassadors of China and Great Britain to the U.N., Jovanovic said he had explained that Yugoslavia did have an influence on Bosnian Serbs, because they were members of the same nation, but that the influence could not stop the civil and religious war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting with Chinese Ambassador Li Daoju [name as received] and British Ambassador David Hannay marked the beginning of Jovanovic's talks with the permanent representatives of the U.N. Security Council.

Jovanovic will try to point out the absurdity of continuing U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia because international factors, by calling on the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to reach an agreement, showed they viewed the conflict as a civil war, not a foreign aggression.

Hannay conveyed the stand of the British Government that the U.N. sanctions would be lifted when the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina ended.

From his talks so far, Jovanovic got the impression that the mediators in the talks, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, were beginning to change their stand that this round of talks should end, any which way, as soon as possible.

Jovanovic said he believed Vance and Lord Owen were not setting any deadlines for the negotiations because they have come to realize that was not a good thing.

### Krajina Delegation Seeks Withdrawal of Croatian Army

*LD1803191493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 18 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, March 18 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) is ready for accords with Croatia if it unconditionally observes U.N. Resolution 802 on pulling Croatian army and police out of the occupied RSK territories, RSK President Goran Hadzi stated in Geneva at the end of the morning round of the indirect talks on Thursday [18 March].

The morning round of consultations between the RSK delegation and international mediators Herbert Okun and Geerd Ahrens passed in a debate on the way to implement U.N. Resolution 802.

Other relevant U.N. documents would be discussed later, when Croatia withdraws unconditionally from the RSK territories, it was decided.

On January 22, Croatian army launched an aggression on the RSK which was proclaimed in Serb-populated areas of the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Since last spring, the RSK has been a U.N. protected area (UNPA).

Assessing that there could be no peace so long as Croatia was divided into two parts, Hadzic stressed that the RSK was prepared to enable Croatia a communication between north and south. Before this, Croatia must be condemned for aggression, while those who provoked the aggression and attacked UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] must be taken to task, he reiterated.

He said Croatia's rigid stance in Geneva was hampering negotiations, trying to establish its authority, through UNPROFOR, over the zones under protection of the peace forces, and in the pink zones too.

Hadzic believed that UNPROFOR should stay also after its mandate expired this March, but what was unacceptable was UNPROFOR's tolerance of Croatia's aggression.

Croatia, unable to solve the question of sovereignty militarily, was expecting relevant assistance from UNPROFOR, but the peace forces cannot anticipate a political solution, Hadzic concluded.

## NATO Secretary General Woerner Arrives for Talks

### Promises Meksi Peaceful Cooperation

*AU1903084193 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At the beginning of the Meksi-Woerner meeting that was continued at the Palace of Brigades, the Albanian prime minister presented the grave situation in the Balkans, the insecurity that the conflict in Bosnia causes, and the implications afflicting Albania and Albanians in former Yugoslavia. He later expressed Albania's desire to be a NATO member and the commitment of our Army to be integrated in the structures of this alliance.

NATO's secretary general stressed that the main goal of his visit to Albania was to implement cooperation in all the processes that would lead to Albania's integration into the structures of the alliance. We should discuss specific opportunities to achieve this cooperation, he said. My visit is a clear message that NATO is concerned about Albania's security.

When asked, after the talks held behind closed doors, if this visit is a further step toward NATO, Mr. Meksi said:

[Begin Meksi recording] Of course, Albania is really drawn toward NATO and this visit by the top person of the Atlantic Alliance testifies its interests for Albania, Albania's inclusion in the NATO interests. As Mr. Woerner expressed very clearly, this visit is at the same time a warning for all those who may have an interest in causing turmoil in Albania and endangering Albania and the Albanian land.

[Reporter] In this meeting you discussed the situation in the Balkans. What was Mr. Woerner's opinion regarding the solution to this problem, crisis, conflict?

[Meksi] Of course, we discussed this. It was one of the themes that affect the situation in Albania. It was one of the main themes of our talk, which will also be carried out on other levels. His opinion was that the situation in the Balkans endangers peace not only in the Balkans. The situation in the Balkans endangers Albania and the Albanian people here and in Kosovo. For his part NATO has warned Milosevic and also Clinton has exerted influence with his conditions, so they will not allow anything to happen in Kosovo and Albania.

[Reporter] What is the future for the [words indistinct] in Albania?

[Meksi] This is something done gradually, when it is known that for the near future they do not intend to [words indistinct]. We are participating in the commission by cooperating, and at the same time their concern for us is very great. We will be a NATO partner and have friendly relations and assistance. [End recording]

[Koleci] To honor Mr. Woerner, Mr. Berisha hosted a reception at the Palace of Brigades. He stressed there that being geographically contiguous with NATO countries, such as Turkey, Italy, and Greece, Albania is rendering a contribution to the Atlantic Alliance. He expressed a determination to cooperate with this pact and gratitude for the assistance in setting up a defense policy and an army suitable for a democratic country. Berisha stressed that for this precise reason, Albania is open with NATO. Berisha also spoke about the great importance of Mr. Woerner's visit. He continued by saying that years ago, the dictator filled Albania with bunkers, declaring to the people that we need them to defend ourselves from the military pacts. Whereas today, Albania needs NATO's help to remove them.

After pointing out that the country of eagles, long ago isolated, belongs today to Europe and the difficulties the people have to face to follow the sole road of democracy, Woerner pointed to the values, pride, and ability of the Albanian people. He stressed that he had come here to give the world the message of help and cooperation with Albania. NATO is the most powerful alliance. It is not aggressive and a warmonger, but peaceful. It reached its goal without using arms. Mr. Woerner later said that the alliance is concerned about Albania and that he wants this signal to be seen and heard everywhere, while the conflict is quite near us. He came here for peaceful reasons and to strengthen the close cooperation.

### Discusses Regional Issues

*AU1803201093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Manfred Woerner started his meetings in Tirana with Prime Minister Meksi. During the talk, they spoke about the regional situation and problems, the insecurity that the conflict in Bosnia causes, and the consequences that may influence Albania. Mr. Meksi expressed the desire for Albania's membership into NATO.

Mr. Woerner explained the reasons for coming to Albania and emphasized that the most important thing is to implement cooperation in all possible fields. He also expressed NATO's interest in Albania's security. Instead of general statements, Mr. Woerner concluded, we need to have specific results.

## Zhelev Refuses To Resign; Calls for 'Dialogue'

*AU1803174493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network . . Bulgarian 1720 GMT 18 Mar 93*

["Address to Nation" by President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev; place not given—live]

[Text] Esteemed compatriots , it is politicians who failed that should resign. Those politicians that legally won the elections and then desert the executive power should resign. Those who destroy their own parliamentary majority and turn into a minority in the National Assembly should resign. Politicians who narrow their own social basis, decrease their political influence, and gradually turn the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] into a secondary political force should resign. It is such politicians that should resign, because by relinquishing the executive power and the parliamentary majority they not simply amend the results of the October 1991 elections, but also betray the almost 2 million voters who voted for them with the blue ballot and sent them to the parliament and the government to implement the democratic changes.

Unfortunately, to my great regret, such politicians do not resign in our country. They demand other people's resignations.

As the first directly elected president of Bulgaria, elected by the people to effect a democratic change and a radical transformation of the system, I assumed the responsibility to conduct a policy of national unity, uniting all democratic forces, maximum accelerating the reforms, developing private initiative and enterprise, constructing a broad middle class in Bulgaria, in short—a policy of real decommunization of the country. A policy of a struggle against crime and corruption and the attempts to destabilize the state institutions and violate legality. A policy of Bulgaria's integration into the European structures, constructing stable and bilateral relations with the European states, attracting foreign investments, and good neighborly relations with all Balkan countries. Finally—a policy of civic peace and security.

I believe that this is the only policy of salvation Bulgaria could conduct in the period of transition. I conducted this policy and will continue to conduct it in the future. In the name of this policy I am prepared to continue a dialogue with all who want this.

Dear compatriots, as a president and citizen I will remain loyal to my constitutional obligations and will not succumb to the provocative attempts to destabilize the country. I believe that those who voted for me in the presidential elections, and those who did not support me them, will understand me now.

No one is above the constitution, democracy, and Bulgaria.

## Inflation Reaches 12 Percent in January-February

*AU1803181493 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—The rate of inflation reached 12 percent in January and February 1993, National Statistical Institute (NSI) officials told a news conference today. According to them, the cost of living rose 66.8 percent from the like period of 1992.

The February inflation was calculated before the rise in liquid fuel prices. According to NSI, the prices of government-monitored staple foods increased by 7.35 percent in the first weeks of March. The prices of dairy products, bread, chicken and mutton recorded the steepest rise.

The economic units reported better production and sales performance in February compared to the previous month of 1993. The output of the state and cooperative sector of material production amounted to 22,000 million leva, i.e. up 5 percent from January 1993. The proceeds from the sale of goods and services totalled 23,000 million leva, i.e. up 6 percent from January. Industrial output increased by nearly 8 percent.

Already in late 1992, the NSI found that the number of underperforming enterprises was decreasing. This tendency is observed in the first months of the current year, too. According to Mr. Dimitur Fratev, deputy director of NSI, a growing number of enterprises are stabilizing and upgrading their production performance. Lack of home and foreign markets is the main problem facing economic units at present, as a result of which the February production performance went 15 percent down from the like month of 1992, Mr. Fratev said. According to him, industrial output sales dropped 17 percent from the like period of 1992, which indicates that finished goods inventories keep building up.

The land reform is making a slow progress, according to the NSI report. A total of 470,000 hectares of land have been restituted to original owners so far, which accounts for 7.6 percent of land-use areas and 8.6 percent of the land stock claimed for restitution. The NSI experts predict that the amount of restituted land will increase sharply over the next one or two months and will probably reach 30 percent of the restitutable land stock.

## Parliamentary Commission Denounces Rakovski Legion

*AU1803153993 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 14 Mar 93 p 1*

["Viewpoint of the Parliamentary National Security Commission"]

[Text] At its session on 11 March 1993, the Parliamentary Commission on National Security adopted the following declaration for the press, which was passed by the following number of votes: 12 deputies from the Union

of Democratic Forces [SDS] voted in favor of the statement; six deputies from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] voted against; two (one from the Rights and Freedoms Movement and one independent deputy) abstained from voting, while two deputies from the BSP did not participate in the vote.

Concerning an announcement by the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers' Legion on Bulgarian National Television on 7 March 1993, the commission states as follows:

"On 7 March 1993, the news program Po Sveta I U Nas [Throughout the World and In Our Country] carried a statement read by an announcer, saying that on the occasion of the official National Day celebrations held in Sofia on 3 March, at which hundreds of Bulgarian citizens spontaneously expressed their views on the government and the political situation in our country, the Rakovski Legion declared that it intends to use force if similar occasions should occur in the future to shut the mouths of 'the insolent mob.'"

The National Security Commission evaluates the statement as a threat against national security and the democratic foundations of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The commission urgently recommends that the ministers of defense and internal affairs adopt prompt measures to fully investigate the matter and inform the Bulgarian public on the results. The National Security Commission urgently requests that the prime minister of the Republic of Bulgaria take a public stand on the statement of the Rakovski Legion announced over the Bulgarian National Television.

The commission draws the attention of the chief prosecutor of the Republic of Bulgaria on the aforementioned statement of the Rakovski Legion to establish whether this statement is conform with the Constitution, the country's legislation, and the statute of the legion.

## Cabinet Dismisses Assembly Committees' Chairmen

*AU1803143793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Our reporter Kalina Stancheva reports from the Council of Ministers:

[Stancheva] Personnel changes are the most important issue decided so far. With certain regret the cabinet parted with Mr. Stefan Sofiyanski, [chairman of the Assembly Posts and Telecommunications Committee]. His professionalism and business qualities were recognized, but the cabinet found his participation in a political rally incompatible with his political activity and participation in the state administration. Mr. Sofiyanski refused to dissociate himself from the rally. For its part, the cabinet did not take into consideration the positive opinion of the National Assembly Committee on Radio and Television on Mr. Sofiyanski and the committee he led.

As of today Venko Markov, hitherto deputy chairman of the committee, became chairman of the Committee on Posts and Telecommunications.

Mr. Slaveyko Bozhilov [chairman of the Committee on Tourism], was delayed by a business lunch and was not able to attend his own dismissal, which was for insufficient professionalism. Emil Lozanov, professor at the University of National and World Economy, 58, doctor of mathematics, became the new chairman of the Committee on Tourism.

After his appointment he briefly introduced himself at the Government Press Center, after which he quickly headed for his office, where certain urgent matters awaited his decision.

Prof. Lozanov said that he champions three causes, and three times repeated the word privatization.

The cabinet postponed to Monday [22 March] the personnel changes in the Forestry Committee and the BTA. The closed meeting is still going on.

## Aleksandrov Deplores Attitude Toward Army

*AU1803193293 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 Mar 93 p 1*

[Interview with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov by Georgi Kardanov; place and date not given: "One Should Not Insult the Army!"]

[Excerpts] [Kardanov] Mr. Minister, did you meet with Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis and have a talk with him?

[Aleksandrov] No, I did not meet with Mr. Mitsotakis nor did I have talks on our bilateral relations. Such a meeting was not scheduled, because in a few days my Greek colleague will visit Sofia. Then we will have enough time and opportunities to brief each other on all issues of mutual interest. Naturally, we will discuss the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the role of the Balkan countries in the peaceful, rather than military solution of the conflict. I am pleased that Mr. Mitsotakis confirmed President Zhelev's view that the neighboring countries should by no means interfere if the war expands beyond the affected region.

[Kardanov] Recently our press has dealt a lot with the Bulgarian Army, mostly in a negative manner, which undermines its prestige. Does this create a distorted image of the Armed Forces?

[Aleksandrov] Yes, there really are many articles, and most of them are negative. After the first 100 days of the government expire I will give a news conference and clearly express my position on this issue. The politicians must accept the fact that the Army belongs to all Bulgarian people and change their tone of voice. Otherwise it would be impossible to work! If someone does not like

the minister, this is his problem. However, I will not allow the military and the Bulgarian officers to be insulted. [passage omitted]

[Kardanov] Does the wild political polarization influence the Army's unity and combat spirit?

[Aleksandrov] The soldiers are not affected, but the officers suffer from polarization.... Take, for example, the disturbances at the 3 March rally—something that should not happen again. I saw with my own eyes how a group of those who shouted derogatory slogans, pointed at the cadets and yelled "red garbage!" I would like to stress that the red caps of the cadets were introduced by Prince Battenberg, who copied the caps of the Prussian Hussars. Thus, if someone still does not understand this—their caps have nothing to do with the communist symbols. [passage omitted]

It is impossible to have such an attitude toward the Army! This must be understood once and for all. Those who do not understand this will lose, but unfortunately, the entire nation will suffer in the process

## New Television Chief Outlines Goals

*AU1903115593 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 12 Mar 93 p 7*

[Interview with Khacho Boyadzhiev, director general of television, by Kameliya Stancheva; place and date not given: "Khacho Boyadzhiev Intends to Replace News Program Moderators in the First Place"]

[Text] [Stancheva] Mr. Boyadzhiev, what will be your first orders as director general of national television?

[Boyadzhiev] I have no idea.

[Stancheva] Will you give Asen Agov [his dismissed predecessor] a job?

[Boyadzhiev] He did not offer me a job when he was appointed.

[Stancheva] What are your goals as chief of national television? What kind of policy do you intend to promote?

[Boyadzhiev] I simply intend to promote the policy of the national television. The unity of our nation and the consolidation of a monolithic Bulgarian culture, as a whole, namely our national culture, are my only objectives.

[Stancheva] What kind of man should the television chief be in your view—a journalist or a manager?

[Boyadzhiev] He should be a manager, in the first place. Actually, he should be a manager with professional qualifications.

[Stancheva] What about the journalist?

[Boyadzhiev] He should combine both functions. I am still a member of the Journalists Union.

[Stancheva] Do you think that the personnel approve of your election?

[Boyadzhiev] I trust them.

[Stancheva] You are quite well acquainted with television networks all over the world. Which model are you striving for?

[Boyadzhiev] A Bulgarian model, a national network, a national channel, a national television—this is what I want to achieve.

[Stancheva] Nevertheless, do you have any preferences?

[Boyadzhiev] This is a very difficult question to answer. Why should we imitate another television network? We have a professional television network, operated by professionals.

[Stancheva] What are you going to promise the television workers?

[Boyadzhiev] A peaceful atmosphere, in the first place. They should know what they are working for, but they should also understand that they must do their job properly. The gossip and idle talk which has been continuing for too long should stop, and everyone should mind his own business. Naturally, the new management should agree on uniform criteria in this respect.

[Stancheva] Do you promise higher wages for the personnel?

[Boyadzhiev] Yes, I shall try to act as a rainmaker and provide funds.

[Stancheva] Who will be the members of your team?

[Boyadzhiev] You will find out within the next 10 days.

[Stancheva] Do you intend to replace the former management?

[Boyadzhiev] All competent professionals will remain.

[Stancheva] Whom do you consider to be competent professionals?

[Boyadzhiev] You know them.

[Stancheva] Nevertheless, I am asking you.

[Boyadzhiev] You know who the competent professionals are.

[Stancheva] How many people are required for the operation of the two channels?

[Boyadzhiev] You are asking me? I would say about 5,000.

[Stancheva] There are only 2,000 today, however....

[Boyadzhiev] ....2,400, to be precise.

[Stancheva] Does it mean that you intend to increase the staff?

[Boyadzhiev] Provided that there is enough money, we shall increase the staff.

[Stancheva] Where are you going to get the money?

[Boyadzhiev] What are we all living for? The Ministry of Finance, for example—what is the purpose of its existence? They will certainly refuse to begin with, but they have no choice. They will be obliged to confront my demands.

[Stancheva] You have a permit to introduce a private channel which was supposed to begin operations in December 1992...

[Boyadzhiev] You know that, but being a 24 CHASA reporter you have no precise information. In the first place, I have the expertise relating to the private channel, which I initiated. Actually, I launched the idea, but I am not participating in its organization. I have not even received a bonus for my idea. Otherwise, the concept for this channel, called "New Television," is mine. Hence, I have no share in it, except for my original plan of how to establish it, but I also have a plan for how to run a national network.

[Stancheva] According to rumors, the facilities are already under construction in Boyana....

[Boyadzhiev] Have you been there?

[Stancheva] No.

[Boyadhziev] Well, then you should go there, learn whether it exists, and take a picture of it.

[Stancheva] All right, if nevertheless, God willing, this private channel begins operations, would you leave your post as director general of Bulgarian television to work for the private channel?

[Boyadzhiev] Well, if they should sack me from my present job, I would certainly work for the private channel. You should remember that I have the proper qualifications. You agree that they are not too bad?

[Stancheva] Not at all. The viewers appreciate you for them.

[Boyadzhiev] This is where my strength lies....

[Stancheva] In that case, do you think that you will cope with the administrative work as well? As a matter of fact, what prompted you to accept the post?

[Boyadzhiev] I not only accepted, I insisted on it.

[Stancheva] You insisted on being elected to the post of director general?

[Boyadzhiev] Actually, I tried to convince myself that I should be elected, because television needs a man who would put things in their proper place.

[Stancheva] You are convinced that you will succeed in doing so?

[Boyadzhiev] I very much hope to succeed, as long as certain external forces do not prevent me from doing so.

[Stancheva] By what kind of actions, for example?

[Boyadzhiev] By gross interference on the part of people who do not understand anything about television.

[Stancheva] Are you alluding to politicians?

[Boyadzhiev] I think that they are those who interfere to the greatest extent.

[Stancheva] Are you not afraid that within a month of two some member of parliament may object to you and demand your resignation?

[Boyadzhiev] I would hand in my resignation before he has time to do so. I do not know any television director in the world who is not afraid of political interference. One way or the other, however, it is honorable to fight for a cause. This applies in particular to the cause of our television system, which is in danger of total disintegration.

[Stancheva] How much time do you give yourself in this post?

[Boyadzhiev] I pleaded for at least two years in order to settle some urgent problems. Nevertheless, if some National Assembly deputy should try to dismiss me within the next three months, I shall ask him to let me know in advance so that I may hand in my resignation simultaneously. Upheavals and scandals are not necessary in our era. They are absolutely unnecessary. I said and I repeat that I am not losing anything. If I win, it will be to the benefit of television. Otherwise, in accepting the post of director general I am losing money, because I shall be working only for monthly wages.

I must tell you something else. I have my own company, and considering that your paper deals with gossip, and in order to prevent you from unnecessarily spreading the news, I will tell you that I have been president of the Antinvest Company since 1990, which is engaged in similar activities. The company has not been active, but on the day of my election my lawyer shall liquidate it because neither a director nor any other employee of national television is entitled to own private companies.

[Stancheva] Does this really apply to every television employee?

[Boyadzhiev] Yes, indeed. This is a state-owned institution. Such things are banned all over the world.

[Stancheva] Does it mean that you shall forbid your employees to own private companies?

[Boyadzhiev] Let them stay with their private companies. [sentence as published].

[Stancheva] Will you issue a special directive on the issue?

[Boyadzhiev] No. The employees shall sign a special declaration confirming that they do not work for private companies. I am not going to spy on them. If it should be established that they are working in private companies, I shall request them to make a choice.

[Stancheva] Do you intend to seek the assistance of people outside television to implement your goals?

[Boyadzhiev] Of course, I will! As a matter of fact, our entire cultural life is taking place outside of television. Its chief exponents, such as stage directors, writers, poets, and musicians should join us.

[Stancheva] Is this perhaps the announcement of a "purge" of the current employees?

[Boyadzhiev] By no means. Why? I dislike the word "purge," generally speaking. Whoever fails to do his job properly should reckon with early dismissal. Everyone who does his job can expect his contract to be extended.

[Stancheva] Do you have any political affiliations?

[Boyadzhiev] I am not a member of any party. I am independent, but I am a supporter of national unity.

[Stancheva] Do you intend to pursue Asen Agov's reforms, or do you have your own plan?

[Boyadzhiev] I have an entirely different concept of the criteria of professionalism. Apart from this, a reform of the television system is required, but it should be gradual and not implemented by crude methods. It should be to the benefit of competent professionals, above all.

[Boyadzhiev] The news programs are the decisive factors determining the image of a television network. Do you consider yourself competent in this field?

[Boyadzhiev] Yes.

[Stancheva] Are you planning any changes in the news programs?

[Boyadzhiev] Yes.

[Stancheva] What exactly?

[Boyadzhiev] The announcers.

[Stancheva] Does this apply to both channels?

[Boyadzhiev] Yes, everyone should pass a test. Announcers should be appointed on the basis of competition.

[Stancheva] Do you mean that the current announcers should prepare for tests?

[Boyadzhiev] Yes, they should expect it.

[Stancheva] Do you intend to be on the examining panel?

[Boyadzhiev] I shall preside over the panel.

## Commentary Views 'Difficult' Relations With IMF

*AU1803151393 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Mar 93 p 8*

[Commentary by Chayka Khristova: "The Imperative Is Not a Trump Card"]

[Text] Russel Kincaid, the present chief of the International Monetary Fund's mission to Bulgaria, refused to make any statements before becoming acquainted with the situation in our country. The IMF representatives in Bulgaria refrained from any comment prior to Mr. Kincaid's arrival. Minister of Finance Stoyan Aleksandrov refused to disclose his expectations about the work of the forthcoming mission before Mr. Kincaid arrived and before he learned something about the latter's tasks and prerogatives.

All this is understandable under the circumstances. The signing of a new agreement between the IMF and Bulgaria is a deal and no one is supposed to reveal his trump cards in advance.

What are our trump cards? Mr. Aleksandrov relies on the hope that the "missionaries" might understand our country's difficult economic situation and relax the oppressively tight macroeconomic restrictions. In the opposite case they would risk to loose our partnership.

At first glance, such an imperative appears unrealistic. Did you ever hear of a money lender who is concerned about the needs of the poor? On the other hand, Bulgaria is a debtor of the IMF and every money lender is eager to get his money back. Mr. Kincaid, as we all know, is an expert at collecting unpaid debts.

Nevertheless, the imperative is unrealistic. Mr. Aleksandrov is well aware of it. The problem is not that we could not cope without the $200 million annual loans that we receive from the IMF, an amount that is almost equal to our annual contributions to the fund. Nevertheless, the IMF and World Bank are more or less our only creditors. The main point, however, is that the failure of signing an agreement with the IMF would add the last black mark on Bulgaria's already disastrous financial image in the eyes of the world.

### Zieleniec on Importance of Havel's Austria Visit

*LD1803140293 Prague CTK in English 1306 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK)—Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today noted the importance of the timing of Czech President Vaclav Havel's visit to Austria which took place just a few days after the Czech government announced its decision to complete the Temelin nuclear power plant in South Bohemia.

Speaking before the Czech Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, Zieleniec said the president has rendered us an invaluable service. as a person with remarkable international prestige he faced himself the first reactions of the Austrian public (to the decision to complete the nuclear power station located in the vicinity of Czech-Austrian border-ed). I believe he has considerably simplified our situation, Zieleniec added.

Speaking on the Czech Army's participation in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia, Zieleniec stressed it held great importance for the Czech Republic's reputation on the international scene.

He said that under the decision taken by the Czech and Slovak republics, the 500-strong Czechoslovak UNPROFOR battalion in the former Yugoslavia will be converted into a Czech Army unit. Zieleniec said the Czech Government is considering enlarging it.

He noted that the U.N. Security Council is currently discussing the issue of UNPROFOR units staged in the former Yugoslavia, adding that a decision is expected to be taken in later March.

### Havel Pleased With Visit

*AU1803161293 Prague CTK in English 2153 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel said tonight that his visit to Austria had helped cool down emotions around completion of the Temelin nuclear power plant in South Bohemia as decided by the Czech Government last week.

On his return from a two-day visit to Vienna, Havel said he had agreed with Austrian representatives that the Temelin issue should be discussed by both countries without emotions, and that they should frequently explain their stands to each other.

The very fact that we discussed Temelin calmly and agreed that this controversial issue must not harm comprehensive, long-term and prospective close cooperation between the Czech Republic and Austria may be considered certain success, Havel said.

He added that he was not sure whether a referendum on Temelin, as demanded by Austria's Greens, would be the best way to reach an optimum solution to the problem.

### UK's Hogg Ends Visit, Comments on EC Admission

*LD1903023293 Prague CTK in English 1741 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK)—British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Douglas Hogg said at the end of his two-day visit to the Czech Republic on Thursday that he was leaving fully aware that the Czech Republic was doing everything possible to enter the European Community (EC).

In an interview with CTK he praised the fact that the Czech Republic devoted all its efforts to develop the market economy. He expressed the view that the Czech Republic was not yet ready for admission to the EC and now it would be premature to set any timetable.

Hogg said that it would not even be in the Czech Republics interest to enter the EC early because the Czech Republics economy would have to face a large burden and a stiff competition for which it was not prepared yet. An early admission of the Czech Republic (and other central and eastern European countries) to the EC was not in the interest of the current member states, either, as the EC funds were not inexhaustible, Hogg said.

Asked whether the schedules for the admission to the EC of the Czech Republic and other Visegrad grouping states would be set at the coming EC summit in Copenhagen, Hogg answered that he did not think that in Copenhagen more would be said than at last years EC summit in Edinburgh.

On his meeting with the Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec they agreed that the Visegrad grouping was not an alternative to the EC. The Visegrad grouping consists of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.

### Minister Calls for Improved Border With Slovakia

*LD1803144393 Prague CTK in English 1414 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 18 (CTK)—Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml told the Czech Parliament today that erecting a true physical border with Slovakia would fulfil one of the conditions for the Czech Republic to be able to sign a Czech-German agreement on the return of illegal immigrants.

Ruml noted that Slovakia has not been respecting a measure adopted by the former federal parliament that mandates tightening border controls on Romanians entering Slovakia. Since there does not exist a real border between Slovakia and the Czech Republic, Prague is powerless to stem the tide of immigration, he stressed, especially when the majority of Romanians crossing illegally into Germany are on our (Czech) territory legally.

Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec told deputies that government attempts to establish stricter border

checks with Slovakia did not contradict any signed agreements and is not an attempt to rewrite or reject any of them.

Ruml said Slovakia's refusal to go along with this had no precedent in Europe.

Zieleniec said Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna and Slovak Ambassador Ivan Mjartan, who attended a meeting of Central European interior ministers in Prague this week, made their signature of a joint communique conditional on the non-inclusion of a clause on the creation of standard borders.

The Czech Republic has bilateral agreements on the return of illegal refugees with Austria and Slovakia. In Slovakia's case, implementation is made nearly impossible by the porous border between the Czech and Slovak Republics. Ruml said he hoped to conclude similar agreements with Poland, Hungary and Slovenia, and eventually with Bulgaria, Romania, and the republics of the former Soviet Union.

The German draft law on asylum-seekers names Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland and Switzerland as safe third countries, that are democratically governed. The law envisages stepped-up controls on the German border and the non-admittance of asylum-seekers who come from one of the designated safe countries or states of the European Community.

Ruml said that if a multilateral agreement is not signed between Germany and countries to the east, Central Europe could become a repository of illegal immigrants.

### Members of 'Moravian-Silesian Government' Listed

*AU1803160693 Prague CTK in English 2127 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, March 16 (CTK)— The Moravian-Silesian Assembly (MSA) approved today a Moravian-Silesian government headed by former Czechoslovak Federal Assembly deputy Vaclav Kobliha of the ultra-right Assembly for the Republic - Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC).

The MSA was founded in Brno on November 28 by 24 opposition deputies from the federal and Czech parliaments. It is striving for the autonomy of Moravia and Silesia, the eastern part of the Czech Republic bordering on Slovakia.

Kobliha, 33, told journalists that the government is comprised of four other members: Jiri Sprusil, Josef Pecl, Emil Coufalik, and Frantisek Hala. He said Sprusil, 55, from Ostrava and Coufalik, 68, now living in London, are not members of any political party. Pecl, 52, and Hala, 50, come from Prerov, North Moravia, and are members of the Moravian-Silesian Movement.

Sprusil is a mining engineer by profession and Pecl is an engineer. Coufalik studied medicine and natural sciences in Brno and in 1968 emigrated to London. Hala is a mining engineer and currently Prerov deputy mayor.

He added that the assembly had charged the Moravian-Silesian Land Government with working out a program focusing mainly on the economic and social problems of Moravia and Silesia. The program is to be submitted to the assembly by June 30. The government will also prepare elections to the MSA to be held next autumn, together with elections to local Moravian and Silesian bodies.

Czech parliament deputy Milan Loukota (SPR-RSC) said a visit by MSA representatives to the Council of Europe is to be prepared by two other SPR-RSC parliament deputies within two weeks.

Loukota told journalists that the Moravian-Silesian regional assembly continues to consider a federal setup (of the Czech Republic) the only prospective and beneficial arrangement for the future fate of our nations.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today that the establishment of the Moravian-Silesian Government, like the MSA's other planned actions, could be ignored if it were happening in a different situation.

The transparent effort to manipulate the feelings of Moravia's inhabitants is very dangerous at present, as it seriously complicates current political efforts to create firm bases for the Czech Republic while taking into account the just interests of the Moravian public, Klaus said.

He added that neither the MSA nor the Moravian-Silesian Government have the slightest public authorization either for their existence or for their proclaimed goals.

Jan Krycer, chairman of the Self-Governing Democracy Movement for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS), told CTK that none of the members of the newly established Moravian-Silesian Government is any guarantee for the HSDMS that these citizens might represent the interests of Moravia and Silesia.

He added that his movement wants all efforts aimed at autonomy of Moravia and Silesia to be brought before the Czech Parliament.

Ivan Drimal, chairman of the national-oriented Moravian National Party (MNS), said that the establishment of the so-called Moravian- Silesian Government is a private initiative of SPR-RSC Chairman Miroslav Sladek.

This step unfortunately discredits the cause of Moravia, Drimal said, adding that the MNS dissociates itself from this farce.

Chairman of the Democratic Left of the Czech Republic Lotar Indruch said that this is extremism. He added that the just demands of Moravia and Silesia can only be solved by the elected legislative bodies.

### Zeman Rejects Monetary Policy, Backs State Intervention

*LD1903110093 Prague CTK in English 1045 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 19 (CTK)—The newly elected Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Chairman, Milos Zeman, expressed his support to state interventions and rejected monetary principles in the economic policy in Fridays issue of the economic daily "HOSPODARSKE NOVINY".

Zeman says that monetary policy is based on a philosophy which has actually failed in all advanced countries and led to the political defeat of Margaret Thatcher and George Bush.

The blind and naive belief that market will solve all problems led this country (the Czech Republic) to a deep economic crisis, said Zeman, adding that this crisis will further deepen.

According to Zeman, the government keeps repeating the same mistakes: Its main aim is to cut the budget expenses, instead of generating new revenues.

The government keeps submitting completely unrealistic, over optimistic estimates of the budget revenues development and pays minimum attention to tax evasion, Zeman says.

He also criticises the government concept of privatisation because it creates unmotivated, anonymous owners unable to influnce their own companies.

Zeman favors investments in the public sector and in infrastructure. He also rejects the privatisation of health care, education, or culture.

Zemans economic programme includes struggle against two evils currently troubling our economic system. First, it is the domestic economic organised crime in which the former nomenclature cadres are allied with the nouveaux riches, which, he says, can be solved by adoption of laws requiring to prove the origin of a persons income.

The second evil, Zeman says, is the sell-off of the Czech property to foreign companies. To prevent this the transfer of the ownership rights to the foreign investors should be heavily taxed, he concludes.

### Documents on Army Role in 1989 Destroyed

*AU1803161993 Prague CTK in English 2004 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)— Czech Minister of Defense Antonin Baudys told journalists today he supported the formation of a parliamentary commission to investigate the circumstances surrounding operations Norbert, Zasah (Intervention), Vlna (Wave) and other similar state security actions directed against opponents of the communist regime before November 1989.

He said that the conclusions reached by a Czechoslovak presidential commission investigating the actions of the Army in November 1989 were insufficient and failed to answer the question of what the actions were intended to achieve. The purpose of the commission, which was created September 18, 1990, was to determine if the Army was preparing to use force against the public if necessary during November 1989. The commission investigated the purpose and extent of the measures and the origin of their orders and direction. Its results were made public in 1990.

Baudys said that former Czechoslovak Minister of Defense Miroslav Vacek gave an order in February 1990 to put all documents related to the actions in archive, but that two months later his chief of staff had the documents destroyed. The destruction of the documents will complicate the parliamentary commission's work, Baudys said.

Norbert was the code name for an action approved in 1964, in which the StB (secret police) and Army would take into custody, on the basis of a prepared list, members of the opposition and other individuals in case of civic unrest or other extraordinary situation.

Zasah was the name for the prepared, but never effectuated, intervention of the Army in November 1989.

Vlna was the code name for a plan to replace disobedient radio and television journalists in November 1989 with journalists loyal to the regime.

### Army Officers To Undergo Screening

*AU1803161593 Prague CTK in English 1245 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)— All Czech Army officers will undergo interviews regarding their further employment in the armed forces, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said at today's press conference in Prague.

The newly prepared recruitment system will specify the moral, professional, and physical requirements the officers must meet. The first to undergo the interviews will be the politruks (political commanders under the communist rule) and the workers of the former military counterintelligence service.

As far as the physical prowess required from the career soldiers is concerned, Baudys said that the look at a fat Army officer was simply hardly acceptable to him.

Baudys stated that in the division of the Federal Army property the Czechs had followed a generous approach in order to avoid any conflicts in the whole operation.

On the last Czechoslovak defense minister, Imrich Andrejcak, (proposed for this post by the ruling Slovak Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS], Baudys said that Andrejcak had tried to invest the money, allotted to the conversion of the armament production, in the Slovak companies and projects which were, according to Baudys, rather dubious.

Baudys said that when he had been the federal deputy premier he had prevented along with Czech ministers the transfer of hundreds of millions of crowns to Slovakia.

### Meciar Accuses Former Government

*LD1703231493 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 17 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 17 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today accused the former Slovak Government, which was headed by Jan Carnogursky (Christian Democratic Movement—KDH), of working against the interests of Slovakia, misappropriating state funds and falsifying documents and making libelous statements in the Slovak National Council.

Speaking to Slovak Parliament, Meciar said that in 1991, when the Slovak Parliament removed him from the post of premier, there was a four billion crown surplus in the state treasury, but at the end of the year—after the leadership of Jan Carnogursky—there was a deficit of 10.8 billion crowns. He said that it will take six to eight years for Slovakia to recover from the effects of the former government.

Regarding the refusal of Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic to give him the floor earlier in the day, Meciar said that the government cannot sit like a waxwork figure at sessions of parliament and that deputies cannot limit the right of government members to express their views on the proceedings.

Gasparovic also warned Meciar during the session today that he should speak in a calmer voice. Meciar answered that that was impossible. Form follows content, he said.

### Court to Discuss Dismissal of Foreign Minister

*LD1803232093 Prague CTK in English 1726 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—The Constitutional Court will deal only next week with Slovak President Michal Kovac's request to explain whether it is his duty or only right under the Constitution to dismiss a minister if this is proposed by the premier, journalists learnt today.

The information was given to journalists by Stefan Ogurcak, vice- chairman of the court which is based in Kosice, east Slovakia.

Kovac has turned to the court in connection with the proposal to dismiss Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko which was submitted to him on March 9. On March 10, Kovac said he was transferring the request to the Constitutional Court because law experts are not united on whether or not the president can dismiss a minister on the premier's proposal.

But the court said the request was faxed to it only on Wednesday, the court started its activity only yesterday.

Ogurcak told journalists today that the law did not set any deadline for the court to solve particular cases.

Its ruling will not probably be of any value because next week, Knazko will not probably hold the post any longer. On Wednesday, Kovac said that unless Knazko resigned by Friday (tomorrow), Meciar would leave his post.

After his talks with Meciar today, outgoing Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak said it was almost certain that Kovac would dismiss Knazko on Friday.

According to the information obtained by CTK at the Slovak Foreign Ministry, Kovac will dismiss Knazko on Friday morning and Jozef Moravcik, the last Czechoslovak foreign minister, would be appointed to replace Knazko in the afternoon on the same day.

### Moravcik May Replace Knazko

*LD1803165393 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—Jozef Moravcik from the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today declined to comment on the information that on Friday [19 March] he would replace Milan Knazko, also from the HZDS, as Slovakia's foreign minister.

According to the information obtained by CTK at the Slovak Foreign Ministry, Knazko will be dismissed by Slovak President Michal Kovac on Friday morning and Moravcik, the last Czechoslovak foreign minister, would be appointed head of Slovak diplomacy in the afternoon on the same day.

Well informed sources in the Czech Republic also consider Moravcik's appointment likely.

Until recently, a hot candidate for the post, if Knazko were dismissed, seemed to be Roman Zelenay (HZDS), now Meciar's foreign political adviser and chairman of the House of Nations of the now-defunct Federal Assembly.

Moravcik told CTK today that certain decisions must be made before he can make any comment, but he did not specify the decisions. Knazko is still foreign minister, he added.

Moravcik told CTK he considered the fundamental scenario of the Slovak Foreign Ministry's correct, but he thinks that greater emphasis should be placed on some points in Slovakia's orientation, including Slovakia's joining NATO.

Moravcik considers the preservation of good relations with the Czech Republic a most important task. He disagrees with the Czech Government's proposal to tighten control checks on the Czech-Slovak border, saying he can see no reasons to take any extraordinary measures .

The Czech Republic hopes the tightening of the control regime on the border will cut the influx of illegal immigrants. The government has stressed the measures are not targeted against Slovaks.

Knazko is to be dismissed from his ministerial post in consequence of his dispute with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar which broke out at the end of January when Meciar accused Knazko of breaking party discipline by encouraging HZDS members not to vote for the HZDS candidate in the first round of voting for Slovak president.

On March 9 Meciar submitted to Slovak President Michal Kovac a proposal to dismiss Knazko. On March 10, Kovac said he was transferring the proposal to the Slovak Constitutional Court because law experts were not united on whether or not the president had the right to dismiss a minister.

On Wednesday, Kovac said that unless Knazko resigned by Friday, Meciar would leave his post.

### Cabinet Discusses Meciar Letter on Shares

*LD1903112493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] The Slovak Cabinet held an extraordinary session last night. We have been trying to get a more detailed report for the listeners to our morning program, but our reporter, along with other journalists, was turned away from the government's office. Interestingly enough, though, the only journalist allowed to attend the cabinet session was a TASR [Slovak News Agency] reporter. The following report should therefore be entitled: What TASR has been allowed to report.

[Unidentified correspondent] The letter from Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus to Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, concerning the docking of Slovak privatization coupon holders' shares invested in the Czech Republic, was on the agenda of an extraordinary evening session of the Slovak Government. The government adopted a statement stressing that it bases its approach on consistent protection of citizens' property, and notes that citizens bear no responsibility for the state's obligations. The adoption by the Czech Government of the principle that citizens do bear such a responsibility contravenes legal principles and therefore the Slovak Government will not implement such an approach toward holders of privatization coupons in Slovakia. At the same time the Slovak Government notes that the situation concerning property settlement between the Slovak and Czech Republics is indeed unsatisfactory, and expresses the hope that the Czech Government will pursue the issue in a more constructive way. [passage omitted]

### Shares Information Requested

*LD1903024393 Prague CTK in English 1828 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—Chairman of the Slovak Parliament Ivan Gasparovic today asked Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar to provide to the parliament the letter from Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus.

After the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank, Slovakia owes the Czech Republic some 25 billion crowns. In the letter Klaus informs the Slovak Government about the Czech Republic Governments decision to halt the handing over of the shares of the Czech companies from the coupon privatisation to the shareholders, including Slovaks.

The share distribution was conditioned by the Czech Government by the signing of a general property agreement and an agreement of the settlement on the assets and liabilities of the former Czechoslovak State Bank.

Gasparovic said in the interview with CTK that the parliament wanted to establish whether the decision of the Czech Government did not violate any of the agreements signed between the two Republics. Asked whether he had in mind the agreement on investment protection Gasparovic answered that it was so to some extent, but the final statement would be provided only after the whole issue was investigated in the parliamentary committees.

Prague has prepared for our (Slovak) investment coupon holders another February 1948, they were nationalised, added Gasparovic. On February 25, 1948, the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia. The seizure was followed of a comprehensive property nationalisation. [as received]

### Bill To Seat Former Federal Deputies Defeated

*LD1803231493 Prague CTK in English 2255 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—The Slovak Parliament today turned down a draft constitutional law on the provisional set-up of the Parliament.

A group of deputies suggested that the former federal deputies elected in the 1992 elections in the Slovak Republic cooperate with the current Slovak parliamentarians in passing constitutional laws and in deciding about proposals to hold referendums.

The authors of the constitutional bill, mainly from the Democratic Left Party (SDL), proceeded from the constitutional law of the former Czechoslovakia's federal parliament on the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, according to which as of January 1 legislative power is in the jurisdiction of the Slovak legislature consisting of the deputies elected in the 1992 parliamentary elections to the Federal Assembly and to the Slovak Parliament.

The former federal deputies, according to the proposal, should have held their seats free of charge. If the bill were passed the parliament would have 276 deputies.

The proposal for former federal deputies having a seat in a newly set up provisional Slovak Parliament chamber was also rejected at the 12th session January 11.

### Minister Sees No Military Threat From Hungary

*LD1803203693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] According to the new Slovak defense minister, there are no grounds for the assumption that Slovakia faces a military threat from Hungary. Imrich Andrejcak told the Bratislava paper UJ SZO that relations between the Slovak and Hungarian armies are good. The minister is of the view that it would be worth holding a Hungarian-Slovak seminar, with the involvement of soldiers and politicians, to clear up the alleged danger supposedly emanating from the Hungarian side.

### Slovak Army Strength, Planned Cuts Reported

*AU1803201893 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 16 Mar 93 p 2*

["ta"-signed report: "Armed Forces of the Slovak Republic"]

[Text] The Army of the Slovak Republic currently is 49,464 soldiers strong, and almost 60 percent of them are conscripts in the compulsory service. According to the treaty on conventional forces in Europe, the strength of the Army of the Slovak Republic is to be reduced to 46,667 men, 478 tanks, 683 armored carriers, 383 artillery systems, 115 fighter jets, and 25 combat helicopters. That is the information provided yesterday by the state secretary of the National Defense Ministry, Igor Urban, to the National Council of the Slovak Republic Petition Committee.

### Army Volunteers To Serve With UNPROFOR

*LD1803131493 Prague CTK in English 1235 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—Volunteers from the Slovak Army will be sent abroad in the framework of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and European Community monitoring and peace-keeping missions.

According to the Slovak government's proposal which was approved today by the Slovak Parliament, volunteers from the Slovak Army are to be sent to Somalia and Angola. A Slovak Army engineer battalion will be sent to the former Yugoslavia to serve in the UNPROFOR there along with a Czech Army unit.

Under the resolution adopted by the Slovak Parliament, Slovak troops will also be stationed in Iraq in the framework of humanitarian mission. However, they will serve there only until they are substituted by Czech Army soldiers.

## Csurka Denies Intent To Seize Political Power

*LD1803152893 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0632 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] Istvan Csurka is preparing to seize political power. This was said by [Premier] Jozsef Antall in PESTI HIRLAP. [passage omitted] Istvan Csurka told our staff member Judit Laszlo that he is not leaving the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and will not withdraw from political life. In the following interviews you will hear Istvan Csurka, Sandor Kosa, his ally, and Sandor Lezsak. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Laszlo] Let us return to Premier Antall's statement that Istvan Csurka has been and is preparing to seize political power. What are your comments on this?

[Csurka] How could I seize political power when even the editorial staff [of the MAGYAR FORUM newspaper] can be removed from under my feet in less than a week? I do not understand how a responsible politician can risk such an allegation.

[Laszlo] But if, as you put it, this editorial staff had not been pulled out from under your feet, then would this allegation be true, that you are striving to seize political power?

[Csurka] Yes, in that case this charge could be levelled at me with greater justification. Because then there might be some realistic chances of my seizing political power. As matters stand, I am struggling to remain alive. So, if I live, is that seizing political power? [end recording]

[Laszlo] Csaba Kosa, chief editor of MAGYAR FORUM, resigned from his chief editor's post on 12 March. Several staff members are also leaving the weekly with him.

[Begin recording] [Kosa] My decision was fundamentally politically motivated. If the MAGYAR FORUM in any way becomes the paper, the organ, of the Hungarian Way circles, if campaign speeches and political statements make their appearance here, then it will no longer be the paper I have been editing.

[Laszlo] Was the event of the last few days—namely that Istvan Csurka did not publish the interview with the prime minister—the last straw?

[Kosa] I felt that I could not agree in this matter with the paper's owner [Csurka] and the editorial committee. My decision in principle had been made before that, but naturally this strengthened my resolve. [end recording]

[Laszlo] There is no connection between the crisis of MAGYAR FORUM and the new weekly [UJSAG] which is being launched by Sandor Lezsak. That is how the MDF Presidium member refuted the information that appeared in the press. Sandor Lezsak also described as imprecise the information about the launching of the weekly. In fact, to begin with, only a periodical publication will be issued, which, linking to the program of the Lakitelek People's College, will assist the training and education of entrepreneurs. [passage omitted]

## Relations With Yugoslavia Discussed

*LD1803232393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Hungary is applying the embargo against rump Yugoslavia, but not in the framework of bilateral relations. This was said by Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman. Istvan Kulcsar is the reporter.

[Begin recording] [Herman] The country in question is a neighboring country. Hungary strives for balanced relations with every south Slav republic. In addition to this, rump Yugoslavia is of great importance to us, that is to say, we are talking not only about the neighborhood, since this territory used to be an important economic partner in the past and can be an important economic partner in the future as well, not mentioning the fact that there is a significant Hungarian minority in the territory of rump Yugoslavia. There are special Hungarian interests, special considerations, and it is only logical to assert these special interests and considerations, naturally ensuring that our steps are not contrary to the Security Council sanctions in any form and generally to the intentions of the international community.

[Kulcsar] Recently, there have been accusations on the Serbian side, if my information is correct, that Croatian troops are being trained in Hungary to fight against the Serbs. Have we managed to dispel these beliefs?

[Herman] I do not think that it is our task to dispel these beliefs. Our task, primarily, is to convince the Serbian side that it is not worth spreading such things. And this was clearly said by the Hungarian delegation, by Janos Martonyi, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, to his Belgrade counterparts, that in order to achieve an improvement in our relations, it is necessary to put an end to these kind of accusations. It is necessary to adopt all means to put an end to statements that can also be interpreted as threats against Hungary and to put an end to the threatened situation of the Hungarians in Vojvodina as well. [end recording]

## Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Vojvodina Autonomy

*AU1803213593 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 16 Mar 93 p 3*

[Interview with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina, by Bela Toth in Temeri; date not given: "The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina Does Not Want Border Changes—Our Novi Sad Correspondent's Interview With Andras Agoston"]

[Text] With increasing frequency, Andras Agoston and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina [VMDK] are accused of urging the separation of the

Vojvodina and North Backa. An evening newspaper in Belgrade went as far as to state that Agoston had bought a new house in Temeri [town's name as published] from money supplied by Hungary's parties and the government, which advocate separatism. This interview was conducted in this house. It is new but the outside plasterwork is missing and the yard does not show any evidence of gardeners. Agoston does not comment on the remarks about his house.

[Agoston] Whenever we talk about our autonomy concept at international forums, we always emphasize that we do not wish to change the borders. This is always highly appreciated. During our participation in international events and our conversations, our negotiating partners usually warn us that the Serbian Government considers autonomy as the first stage of separation. My answer to this is that the Serbian Government itself is aware that its statement is false and that it can only serve propaganda purposes. They are well aware that the Hungarian state and its leadership cannot become part of the EC if it is struggling with border issues. It is true that the VMDK maintains links with all parties of Hungary and with the Hungarian Government of the day but no one has suggested that we secede.

[Toth] Serbia does not welcome your efforts to create self-government.

[Agoston] I am aware of the fact that none of the Serbian parties support our intentions, so we are doing all we can to make our three-fold autonomy concept as clear as possible at international forums, and to convince the international public that establishing this kind of self-government could mean a long-term solution for the national minorities.

[Toth] What will the VMDK do if civil war breaks out in Serbia?

[Agoston] First of all, we will try to place the Vojvodina Hungarians under international protection. If, in spite of this, atrocities and mass murders are committed, then the VMDK's view, namely its call for escape, will remain in force. I am certain that 150,000 Hungarians would leave the Vojvodina within 10 days of our appeal.

[Toth] What steps has the VMDK taken to establish this three-fold autonomy?

[Agoston] We managed to make people understand in the international arena that our demand is to keep the Hungarians in the Vojvodina, rather than for separation. We have been promised that the EC would not apply two different standards to the status of national minorities. I was in the Netherlands a few days ago and was received by parliamentary and government representatives. My partners were extremely well informed and they were interested in every minute detail. I did not hear any objections to our autonomy concept in the Netherlands nor had I anywhere else before.

[Toth] However, there are plenty of comments about it here—I am thinking of the debate that has arisen among the Vojvodina Hungarians.

[Agoston] These comments are not clear enough. The VMDK has an internationally accepted autonomy model, which has also gained legitimacy among the Vojvodina Hungarians. We entered the elections by calling upon the electors on our posters to vote for Hungarian autonomy. Some 80 percent of the Vojvodina Hungarians voted for the VMDK. We view all the criticism by the Hungarians, including by [former justice minister] Tibor Varady in the first place, who are in Serb parties that call themselves democratic, as political criticisms and we will take them into consideration. When it comes to establishing self-government, we will probably be able to include some of these proposals and ideas in our concept.

[Toth] At the local authority elections, the VMDK won in Szabadka [Subotica], Kanizsa [Kanjiza], Zenta [Senta], Ada, Becse [Becej], Topolya [Backa Topola], and Kishegyes [Mali Idos]. Is it possible to apply certain elements of the autonomy concept to these villages?

[Agoston] It is, but local governments' sphere of authority has become very narrow owing to centralization. There is excellent cooperation between the local governments. In my view, the regular meetings held by the mayors to coordinate the policies of local governments are significant. We have also made an important step in establishing so-called personal self-government. We have asked the county's media editors to establish the information bases of autonomy together with us. Conditions are slowly becoming ripe for holding concrete discussions on these issues. The VMDK will take it upon itself to organize the dissemination of information in the Hungarian language, but to achieve this, the county Parliament will first have to relinquish its founding rights.

## Serb Politician Accuses Hungarian Leader of Treason

*LD1903112693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] An extremist Serb politician has accused the chairman of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina of high treason. Zeljko Raznjatovic, also known as Captain Arkan, who is wanted in several European countries, said in the Serbian parliament that Andras Agoston gave untrue statements to MAGYAR HIRLAP when he spoke about the absence of [ethnic] Hungarians' rights in Serbia. The Vojvodina Hungarian leader dismissed this by saying that his statement was based on the fact that Serbs returning home from Krajina threatened him and members of his party with expulsion from Vojvodina.

### Government Account Shows Surplus of $324 Million

*LD1803144993 Budapest MTI in English 1419 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's current account showed a surplus of USD 324m at the end of 1992, National Bank of Hungary Vice-President Frigyes Harshegyi told MTI-ECONEWS on Thursday.

However, visible trade was more or less balanced with exports of USD 10.03bn and imports of USD 10.08bn. The surplus came mainly from tourism and services. Last year was the third consecutive year that Hungary had a current account surplus.

Harshegyi said that direct foreign cash investment was USD 1.47bn last year, USD 20m more than in 1991, bringing the total for the last two years to almost USD 3bn.

External borrowing was USD 2.2bn last year, including company borrowing of USD 700m. Interest payments were USD 1.22bn, or USD 100m less than in 1991.

Hungary's foreign exchange reserves stood at USD 4.38bn at the end of 1992, USD 380m up on 1991.

The country's net external debt fell USD 1.6bn to USD 13bn last year, while its gross external debt shrank by USD 1.2bn, partly due to changes in the cross rates.

For this year, Harshegyi said debt payments would be USD 3.3bn, comprising capital of USD 2.2bn and interest of USD 1.1bn. Hungary's foreign exchange income from trade and services was expected to match last year's figure of USD 13bn, giving a debt- service ratio of 25 percent.

### IMF Satisfied With Hungarian Economic Reform

*LD1903093793 Budapest MTI in English 0852 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Washington, March 19 (MTI)—The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is appreciative of the fact that the Hungarian Government essentially fulfils its agreement concluded with the fund.

However, reducing the budget deficit that has increased because of unexpected foreign circumstances is indispensable for Hungarian economy - which hit the low point in 1992—to begin to grow, a senior official of the IMF told MTI's correspondent.

He stressed the way out of the difficulties is to increase tax revenues, and for welfare assistance to be granted to those genuinely in need.

The official, who asked to remain anonymous, confirmed that talks will be held in Washington beginning with the last week in April, with the participation of the Hungarian minister of finance. If no agreement is reached, talks will continue in Budapest.

In answer to whether the IMF is inclined for a compromise, the expert said: The fact that the 1993 budget deficit, which accounts for 6 per cent of the national income, has been approved can already be considered as such, for the original agreement reckoned with a balance in the state budget for this year.

However, the fund has acknowledged that the unforeseeable collapse of COMECON [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] and Eastern trade, the lower than expected revenues are the reasons behind the deficit. The figures of Hungarian economy for 1992, although they fell short of the expected, among others, due to the drought, are promising and there is a good chance for a boom to begin following the decline of the past years.

Experiences of 1993 to date also indicate this. It is hoped inflation will be further moderated and the process of economic restoration will continue.

### Minister Will Not Attend Brussels Meeting on Gabcikovo

*LD1903111993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] It is Hungary's opinion that Slovakia is delaying the signing of the Hague International Court's submission declaration because it wants to define the schedule for the settlement of the Gabcikovo dispute itself. It is believed that the Bratislava government will address the issue again in four days, at the earliest.

Since Bratislava turned down the European Community's suggestion to have negotiations today, the Hungarian foreign affairs state secretary [Janos Martonyi] will not travel to Brussels either.

### Fur on Military Reform, Relations With Bulgaria

*AU1803194093 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 15 Mar 93 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Colonel Ivan Sotirov; place and date not given: "Military Cooperation Between Hungary and Bulgaria Is in Interest of Peace in Europe"]

[Excerpts] [Sotirov] Mr. Minister, what are the pace, specific results, and final goal of your country's military reform?

[Fur] The political parties in the parliament reached a consensus on the basis of which they work out the new military doctrine, which is characterized by the fact that it is not aimed against any country. The conflicts that would eventually develop, should be resolved first through diplomatic and political means. The use of military force should probably be used only to prevent an act of aggression. Hungary does not have and cannot

have mass destruction weapons. We deem it very important that no citizen think that his security is being threatened. The Armed Forces preserve and guarantee the security. [passage omitted]

The basic task in the Army is to improve the professional training of the military and the small number of civilian personnel. From an organizational point of view we are striving to create a modern army with modern equipment, highly qualified personnel, and improved infrastructures, so that it could independently guarantee the country's defense.

The government adopted the new concept on the country's security and defense, on the basis of which we adopted important decisions related to the country's administrative leadership. A long-range program on developing military equipment was worked out.

Last year we conducted a reorganization, which burdened personnel very much. Army brigades of a new type were created, and the organization and forming of mobile Air Force units began. [passage omitted]

The prospects of developing the Hungarian Army are related to the country's limited economic possibilities. Under the existing conditions the supply stagnates. We are making efforts to provide the new organizational, administrative, and operational systems with the necessary means.

In the future, when the necessary material resources are ensured, the Hungarian Army will develop in accordance with the international framework agreements. We strive at such combat readiness and ability that in the case of an unexpected aggression, the Army should be able to deter, and if necessary repel, an eventual attack.

In the international context it is very important to observe the obligations related to protecting peace and rendering humanitarian relief. [passage omitted]

[Sotirov] How do you view the development of military cooperation between Hungary and Bulgaria?

[Fur] In May 1991 in Sofia an agreement was signed on cooperation and exchange of experience between the two countries' Defense Ministries. Within the framework of mutual cooperation at a high level, in February 1992 Erno Raffay, state secretary on political issues at the Hungarian Ministry of Defense, made a working visit to Sofia. Soon Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov, Bulgarian minister of defense, will visit Hungary.

During the current year mutual cooperation will be effected through consultations on issues of material-technical questions and supply of the Armies' service units and exchanging experience in the sphere of health protection, military medicine, cartography, and military-historical science. It is possible to organize a "Hunday" or a "Jagelo III and Janos Hunday—1443" exhibition in connection with the joint march of Poles, Hungarians, and Bulgarians. In addition, there will be an exchange of experience between military journalists, and exchange of athletes and cultural enterprises.

We attribute a special importance to the various international agreements and issues related to security policy and exchange of experience in the military sphere.

### Fur, Bulgarian Counterpart Comment on Meetings

*LD1903022593 Budapest MTI in English 1611 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—After talks, Bulgaria's and Hungary's defence ministers signed a military communique today. Bulgaria's Valentin G. Aleksandrov was on a three-day official visit to Hungary invited by counterpart Lajos Fur. They confirmed a bilateral military agreement signed in Sofia two years ago.

Aleksandrov said Bulgaria's matched Hungary's security views over countries along the Danube, and on the south Slav crisis, that all peaceful means must be tried to stop the conflict spreading. In future Bulgaria and Hungary would act jointly at world forums like NATO and the Western European Union. Aleksandrov wanted regular consultations between countries along the Danube.

Lajos Fur agreed on a forum but said the actual cooperation details have yet to be worked out. He saw the two countries' military problems as very similar, both being affected by the south Slav crisis, with bilateral military ties vital to both.

When MTI asked what Bulgaria would do if the south Slav crisis spread to Macedonia, with its large ethnic Bulgarian minority, Aleksandrov said Bulgaria's reconnaissance service had seen no such tendencies and he refused to respond to suppositions.

## Sejm Rejects Privatization Program; Suchocka Surprised

*AU1903080893 Warsaw PAP in English 1627 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—The Sejm (lower house) today voted to reject the government-proposed mass privatization programme.

Deputies voted 203 to 181 with nine abstentions to reject the whole mass privatization package after earlier voting on 36 separate amendments to the bill.

Earlier in the day, the chamber narrowly voted down a motion to reject completely the mass privatization draft law.

No one was in favour of the bill among the deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance, the Confederation for Independent Poland, the Centre Accord, and the Movement for the Republic of Poland.

Deputies of the Polish Peasant Party voted 1 to 38, with 10 absent.

Deputies of the Democratic Union voted 50 to 1, with 6 deputies absent. Forty two deputies of the Polish Liberal Programme voted in favour of the bill with no one against or abstaining and 8 absent. The Christian National Union caucus voted 28 to 10 with 6 absent while the Solidarity deputies voted 14 to 6, with 9 deputies abstaining and 4 absent.

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka told journalists after the vote that the rejection of the mass privatization programme came as a surprise to her.

She said that what surprised her most was the stance of those parliamentary groupings that accused the government of tending to socialize the economy and protect old structures.

"I have to admit that in this chamber a strange coalition was created which voted to hamper reform," she said and warned that this was a serious sign that there is a possibility of turning back from the path of reform.

The prime minister noted that Hungary and the Czech Republic have already launched a mass privatization programme and Poland is the only country whose parliament voted to reject it. She also remarked that Poland's high standing will get "toned down" as a result of the Sejm decision.

Commenting on the outcome of the vote, Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski said that Poland's political elites have decided to slow down the mending of the economy and exclude from that process all Poles who would have profited from the programme.

According to Lewandowski, this also means shaking the confidence of foreign business for Poland as a partner.

Leader of the Polish Liberal Programme caucus Jan Pamula demanded an emergency meeting of coalition members. He said that the outcome of Thursday's vote can be considered as a no-confidence vote in the ruling coalition and the cabinet.

### Suchocka, Others on Vote

*LD1903035293 Warsaw PAP in English 2341 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka declared that the government will not resign from the implementation of the mass privatization programme. The statement was announced by the prime minister's Press Secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski after Ms. Suchocka's two-hour meeting with coalition party leaders and cabinet ministers from the Democratic Union (UD) and the Polish Liberal Programme (PPL).

The prime minister decided to hold the meeting after the Sejm (lower house) rejected on Thursday [18 March] the government proposed draft law on mass privatization programme.

During the meeting, Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski declared his readiness to resign but the prime minister asked him to continue the work on his ministerial post, said Milewski.

"The mass privatization programme must be implemented," chairman of the PPL parliamentary club Jan Pamula said after the meeting adding that he sees no possibility for any major modifications of the programme.

According to Deputy Bronislaw Geremek (UD) privatization "is a problem of people not of a doctrine...that what has happened at the Sejm goes against social expectations. Enterprises are waiting for a decision."

Deputy Pamula added that he was surprised by the voting "not only by coalition members, but also by forces which we have seen up to now as reform-oriented. I am referring to the Centre Alliance (PC) and the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) which had declared in their electoral programmes support for privatization, while today they played a destructive role."

Bronislaw Geremek stressed that his party would remain in a government which implemented a programme of reforms. Asked about the possibility of ensuring greater support for the cabinet in parliament, he said that "it is difficult to broaden a government, which wants reforms, by those who oppose them."

Late Thursday evening, leaders of the government coalition's parliamentary caucuses decided to hold talks on the mass privatization programme with the post-Solidarity opposition parties. Minister for Contacts With Parliament Jerzy Kaminski said after the meeting that he could not exclude the possibility that some principles of privatization would be changed to adjust them to conditions put forward by the Christian National Union (ZCHN), which is one of the coalition parties.

"We are determined to go through with the reforms and to return to the draft of mass privatization," stressed Minister Jerzy Kaminski.

Meanwhile, it appeared that the government coalition could have won today's vote by as much as six votes if all coalition deputies observed coalition discipline. Twelve coalition deputies voted against the government draft law. Prominent member of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) and Speaker of the Sejm Wieslaw Chrzanowski as well as Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewcz (Democratic Union) said they voted against the draft by mistake.

Another leading member of the ZCHN Jan Lopuszanski, like eight other ZCHN members voted against the draft to voice their dissatisfaction over partial solutions included in the document. All nine ZCHN deputies were reprimanded by their parliamentary caucus for insubordination.

Deputy Jan Lopuszanski, one of the ten [as received] deputies of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) coalition party who voted against the government draft law, said that he did so "without any special satisfaction but with the knowledge that he is averting a greater evil." He stressed that he had to vote against the draft as deputies did not manage to remove from the document the most dangerous, in his opinion, element concerning the so called managing firms, enabling non-Polish capital factors to have influence on the steering of Polish economy.

Lopuszanski expressed the opinion that the authors of the law wanted to enable foreign capital access to the management of the most valuable parts of the nation's property. "Of course mass privatization is necessary... But it should be done in a way which can guarantee that Poland will not lose control over her property."

Leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, the largest parliamentary floor group, Aleksander Kwasniewski said on Thursday evening that the alliance is in favour of gradual privatization, starting with 200 enterprises with the participation of their employees. If the government is ready to accept our proposals, then during the next voting we will support a draft deprived of ideology but filled with pragmatism, said Kwasniewski.

He said that such a draft would have to reject the idea of a mass hand out of shares to the general public and decide on the earmarking of funds obtained from privatization for groups towards which the State Treasury is a debtor, including pensioners and employees of the state sector. Kwasniewski stressed that now the move belongs to the government, which "must draw far reaching conclusion both as concerns the idea of privatization and the broadening of the political base for the support of such idea.

## Osiatynski Reacts to Vote

*LD1903033693 Warsaw PAP in English 0029 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Washington, March 18—Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski said in Washington Thursday [18 March] that the rejection by the Sejm (lower house) of the mass privatisation bill was a "very unfortunate decision" which could make it difficult for Poland to obtain funds from the World Bank for restructuring Polish banking and freeing enterprises from debt. Preliminary negotiations on the funds have already taken place. Osiatynski was in Washington to negotiate with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund when he heard the news from Poland.

"This will not drown privatisation. Privatisation has progressed and will progress. The mass privatisation programme is one of the paths to privatisation and not the most important one," said Osiatynski. He added that it would be difficult to explain to international financial institutions and the United States why the mass privatisation programme had been blocked in parliament.

Osiatynski thought that the deputies must have failed to realise that the World Bank funding might be put at risk by their rejection of the programme. The World Bank loan is worth 450 million dollars in total. The second part of the loan was dependent on the mass privatisation programme being accepted by parliament.

"We had very good talks with the World Bank yesterday, but after this decision I received a signal that the highest officials at the bank are asking for an additional meeting and for clarification about the situation which has arisen," revealed Osiatynski. He added that the Polish delegation was looking for ways not to lose the promised loan.

As for the IMF loan promised on March 8, it had not been tied to the mass privatisation programme, but the decision in parliament would influence the way Poland was evaluated, said the minister.

Asked whether the people he was negotiating with realise that the mass privatisation programme did not make up the biggest share of Poland's privatisation plans, Osiatynski answered that after the experience of the former Czechoslovakia it had become the main privatisation slogan for the international financial institutions.

Osiatynski thought that the Sejm vote had been an example of a "certain political dogmatism" and blindness and was not based on the merits of the case. "If it appears that Poland is wavering, than whatever the reality, this is a very bad signal (for people abroad)," concluded Poland's finance minister.

## Party Officials View Vote

*LD1803232793 Warsaw PAP in English 1807 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Deputy Chairman of the Centre Alliance (PC) Slawomir Siwek told journalists on Thursday [18 March] that the outcome of the Thursday's vote on the mass privatization programme bill was a complete political defeat of the Hanna Suchocka government.

Siwek admitted that "votes of the PC weighed" on the final result of the vote. "Now it would be the best for the government to resign," he claimed.

Siwek said that his party could not vote in favour of the bill as "it would lead to further seizing of property by the old alignment having its roots in the communist times."

Leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski told a press conference on Thursday that the rejection of the privatization bill was a sign of the dissolution of the ruling coalition. He voiced hope that the Suchocka government would survive until the end of April.

Moczulski said that the course of events outdistanced his party expectations which planned to announce its programme on April 24-25 demanding the resignation of the Hanna Suchocka government. He announced that after April 24 KPN would lobby for the dismissal of the government until its demands are met.

He criticized the government-proposed mass privatization programme as meant to bring profit to a small part of the society. "This is not a defeat but a success of reforms," he commented on the outcome of the vote.

The Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) is neither overjoyed nor particularly disappointed by the rejection of the mass privatization bill, SLD Deputy Marek Borowski told a press conference on Thursday.

Another SLD deputy Marek Siwiec claimed that the fact that his party voted against the bill "does not mean the negation of the systemic changes currently carried out in Poland. The point is how to do it better while accepting the direction of privatization."

### More Comments on Vote

*AU1903103393 Warsaw PAP in English 1801 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Deputy chairman of the Centre Accord (PC) Slawomir Siwek told journalists today that the outcome of the vote on the mass privatization programme bill was a complete political defeat for the Hanna Suchocka government.

Siwek admitted that "votes of the PC weighed" on the final result of the vote. "Now it would be the best for the government to resign," he claimed.

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### Lewandowski Offers To Resign

*LD1803195893 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] We just heard that Ownership Transformations Minister Janusz Lewandowski has put himself at the disposal of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka. The prime minister has requested that the minister continue to fulfill his duties. We have also been told that the coalition will not relinquish the draft law on general privatization and will present it once more in the Sejm.

### Future of Coalition Assessed

*LD1803225693 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Representatives of the parliamentary floor groups of the coalition parties discussed the situation after the Sejm rejected the government draft of the mass privatization.

[Correspondent Monika Olejnik] Jerzy Kaminski, minister for contacts with political parties, told journalists after the meeting of the seven [members of the coalition], that the coalition still existed. The mass privatization program should exist.

The Christian National Union [ZChN] did not guarantee that it would support the government in the next voting, when this draft would come again to the Sejm. At the same time, Minister Kaminski added that the mass privatization program would be changed to accommodate ZChN's views.

When asked by journalists what changes might be brought in, Minister Kaminski was not able to answer.

When I asked about it, Deputy Jan Litynski [from Democratic Union], who did not take part in today's coalition meeting, was very surprised and said that there could not be any more amendments. Those which exist are sufficient.

I have unofficially learned that during the coalition meeting new parliamentary elections, which would take place next year, were discussed. The election law would block the ZChN. The ZChN would not reach the threshold to enter into the Sejm.

There was also talk about the fact that the liberals [Polish Liberal Program—PPL] would leave the government if there is not a mass privatization program. Then the government would be the president's government.

This was Monika Olejnik speaking from the Sejm.

### Solidarity Presidium Dissatisfied With Government

*AU1903101793 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Gdansk, March 16—The Presidium of the Solidarity National Commission, which met today in Gdansk, dissaproved of the way in which the government is carrying out agreements reached with the union.

According to the Presidium, the government has not implemented the accord signed with Solidarity on January 5 which allowed the union to suspend the collective dispute with the government on compensating the rising costs of living. The Presidium also blames the government for not implementing the provisions of the state enterprise pact and for delaying the restructuring of the Lodz and Walbrzych industrial regions.

The Presidium proposed to hold an emergency meeting with the government on March 26 to examine all controversial issues, said the Presidium's spokesman, Grzegorz Jaczynski, who added that the final decisions will be probably made at a National Commission's sitting scheduled for March 31.

The presidium also discussed results of negotiations in collective disputes concerning public sector employees and the foreign policy of the union.

### Sejm Begins Examination of Electoral Law Changes

*LD1903092993 Warsaw PAP in English 0826 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—The Polish Sejm (lower house) resumed its meeting shortly after 09:00 hrs Friday [19 March] morning, beginning its examination of proposals to amend Polands electoral law.

### Onyszkiewicz Says Policy Aimed at Joining NATO

*LD1903132893 Warsaw PAP in English 1300 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 19—Poland's defence policy, which is to pursue membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Western European Union (WEU), is coherent and clear, Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz said in an interview for the Polish Army newspaper "POLSKA ZBROJNA," published on Friday [19 March].

"Poland wants to become an ever-closer partner of the West, one which has no disputes with any of its neighbours," Onyszkiewicz stated. He denied the suggestion that agreements signed with Poland's eastern neighbours, particularly the Ukraine, implied that the country is wavering between East and West in her defence policy. "We want to build confidence with all our neighbours, and we have chosen our preferred direction. However, we cannot turn our backs on our neighbours to the east," he said.

Onyszkiewicz accepted that the member-states of NATO were not willing to consider applications for membership in the near future. "But none of them denies the need to introduce new members, and Poland, along with the other countries of the Visegrad group (Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic), are being treated as the most serious candidates."

Onyszkiewicz welcomed the moves within the EC towards a common European foreign policy, which in his view implies the creation of a common European defence identity, within the structure of the WEU. He stressed that recent statements from WEU Secretary-General Willem van Eekelen on the conditions for Polish membership should be treated as a positive sign.

The Polish defence minister insisted that there was still an overwhelming case for a continued U.S. presence in Europe, and welcomed the prospect that the strength of American forces in the region is unlikely to fall below 100,000 soldiers.

Commenting on the problems faced by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his dispute with the Russian legislature, Onyszkiewicz suggested that the outcome would have no impact on the Polish-Russian agreement on military cooperation. "It does not require ratification by parliament, it simply represents a declaration of the political will to cooperate," he said.

Asked for his opinions on speculation that he will take over the Foreign Ministry portfolio, in the event that the present incumbent Krzysztof Skubiszewski is appointed to a vacant post on the bench of the International Court of Justice, Onyszkiewicz insisted that he had no plans to leave the Defence Ministry. "Nevertheless, I can't deny that the suggestion I could take over from Minister Skubiszewski has given me much satisfaction," he said.

## Vacaroiu Defends Program in Parliament

*AU1903093993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0634 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Speech by Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu in Parliament in Bucharest—live]

[Text] Messrs. presidents of Parliament chambers, ladies and gentlemen, parliamentarians, esteemed guests:

From the very beginning I would like to emphasize the fact that we have examined most carefully the censure motion and we have had enough time to reflect upon its content. The government believes that the practice of the censure motion, instituted by Romania's Constitution, is part and parcel of democracy and of the state of law. It is the government's duty to present its viewpoint on the reasons for the motion invoked in the censure motion and the criticism addressed to the government through this motion, regarding the social-economic reform strategy of the government program.

Within this framework, I wish to say that while we understand the profoundly democratic sense of practicing the censure motion, we cannot help confessing that we are nevertheless surprised by the virulence with which an attempt is being made to destroy the documents that the government submitted to your discussions.

As is known, we have presented the Parliament with two reports. We paid attention to the points of view of the parliamentary groups and of senators and deputies in connection with the documents that were submitted for debates. We have presented the position of the government team in connection with those points of view. We proceeded from the reality that the global objectives and the basic principles of Romania's transition to the market economy have general consensus, although there are natural differences in the practical ways of achieving our goals. However, we realize that the parliamentarians who initiated the censure motion allege—certainly without any justification—that we renounced the objectives and principles that form the basis of the strategy of the social-economic reform of the government program, because:

The concern for ensuring the active presence of the state in the transition period is labeledin the motion as being bureaucratic guidance.

The measures proposed to ensure the free initiative of economic companies, in accordance with the general needs of our society, are qualified as being of a voluntaristic-centralist nature.

The objectives regarding the demonopolization of the economy are translated in the motion as being elements of a monopolistic model.

The measures proposed to ensure a real social protection and to reduce to a minimum the social costs of transition are placed in the motion on the level of impoverishing the masses.

As we Romanians say, it is a sin before God not to tell the truth. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, parliamentarians: the censure motion includes the following statement, quote, the presented document is not a government program but a set of diverse and contradictory sociopolitical options, which lack tangible solutions, terms of application and the country's available sources to implement them. As far as these statements are concerned, we are convinced that you remember the position of the government team, presented broadly during the parliament meeting held last Thursday [11 March].

Nevertheless, please allow me to emphasize just a few elements. As is known, the decision of the Parliament issued on 19 November 1993 reads: quote, the government is granted confidence in its composition stipulated in Annex no. 1, to achieve its government program stipulated in Annex no. 2, unquote.

Legally, the government program was approved as early as its investiture, otherwise the government could not have functioned. The presented documents, as we have noted upon investiture and during the 4 March meeting 1993 as well, are a detailed presentation of the program approved by the parliament on the respective date, when the government pledged before you to take complete responsibility. As a result of all this, we believe that it would not be a legally or factually justified act to make a new pledge of responsibility starting with March 1993 while continuing to maintain the initial responsibility, which the government cannot retract.

Labelling the material in the censure motion as, quote, a set of diverse and contradictory sociopolitical options that lack a tangible solution, unquote, reiterates certain opinions that we believe lack the necessary justification for such an assertion. The description as diverse and contradictory aspects, which arises out of wishes that can only be subjective because they have no real or objective basis, cannot be accepted by us.

The censure motion voices the accusation—we believe in contradiction with the whole content of the strategy of the government program—that the principles included in the document, reintroduce a regime of bureaucratic guidance and centralized-voluntarism. In connection with this affirmation, I would like to draw your attention to the following: During the discussions that we held these past days in Parliament, no elements have been mentioned that would confirm, not even partially, that a policy of bureaucratic guidance and centralist-voluntarism is being practiced. Romania's Constitution clearly affirms that Romania's economy is a market economy. The reform strategy advanced by the government and the draft laws forwarded to Parliament to date, totally disprove this accusation. As a matter of fact, all

that the government proposes to do, it is doing according to the laws approved by Parliament. Within this context, the intervention of the state in the economy can take place only according to the levers of the market economy.

The strategy formulates the tangible principle, according to which the state must actively participate in the entire process of transition to the market economy in order to give maximum impetus to those factors that make a contribution to the normal unfolding of the economic reform and eliminate without delay those causes that might hinder this historical process.

As a matter of fact, the international experience proves that in all countries of the world, the state is not and will never be a passive spectator of the unfolding of social and economic life. Certainly, the autonomy of economic companies, the mechanisms of the market support the economic neoliberalism. We took into consideration the fact that this activates and multiplies the forces of development, however, without excluding the active presence of the state in the economy and in ensuring social protection. Such a way of approaching things does not signify a diversion from the initial concept, but rather a taking into consideration of the realities of our times. The concept that guides the options and actions of the government shows the concern for overcoming bureaucratic barriers and eliminating all tendencies toward centralized-voluntarism. All this because we regard the state, not only the government, but all its fundamental structures, from the perspective of the essential role it plays in rapidly changing the mechanism that makes possible a functioning economy, according to competitive requirements, and in ensuring coherence to changes, with as little social cost as possible. As a result of all this, the functions of the state exclude centralism and administrative command. The state acts through economic-financial levers that are specific to a modern market economy, in order to stimulate the initiatives of economic companies and ensure a free and democratic manifestation of the country's citizens.

Likewise, we do not lose sight of the fact that such a concept is being achieved gradually, even if at an accelerated pace, with the support of the instruments of a state of law and with the strict observance of the law, openness, parliamentary control, and regard for public opinion.

The censure motion affirms that what the government proposes to do, quote, can only slow down or halt the process of economic reform and thus prolong the transition period at enormous social cost, unquote. In connection with this assertion permit me to note the following: The entire government strategy has the fundamental goal of increasing the speed of coherent penetration of the social economic reforms in all sectors of activity, taking into consideration the concrete conditions of the transition period in Romania. We are thinking of a pragmatic approach that lacks generality and is not supported by reality, regarding a gradual therapy or shock therapy. We cannot help taking into consideration the realities and potential of the Romanian economy. Can one disregard, for example, the fact that so far the peasants have not received the land-ownership certificates? Can one disregard the fact that privatization necessitates capital resources and that to recover the economic decline a wide restructuring of the national production system and thus time is needed? Can one disregard the fact that the general standard of living has decreased dramatically in these past years and no therapy can be successful only by drastically reducing social costs? Precisely by taking into consideration these realities, and many others, we proposed concrete actions and measures that we are convinced will create conditions for a steady and increasingly efficient continuation of the reforms.

Among the reasons for the censure motions, the need to bring an end to the people's dissatisfaction and the danger of an authoritarian regime is also mentioned. As we have shown through all our proposed actions, the government wishes to combine the economic measures with those of social protection and intervene through the levers of the market economy to smooth the differences between economy and society. The final goal of the government's actions is precisely what the censure motion formulates as a desideratum: to strengthen political, economic, and social stability by gathering together all the positive energies of our country. Certainly, social dissatisfactions will still emerge. The government team is convinced that if supported by Parliament, it has the necessary capacity to prevent and solve such states of conflict. There is no element that would make us presume that there is a danger of an authoritarian regime.

Ladies and gentlemen, deputies, the government noted with great surprise the assertion included in the censure motion regarding the so called, quote, sharpening of interethnic tension determined by the lack of a tangible government policy—from the point of view of concept and institutional level—that takes account of the realities in our country and European standards in this respect, unquote.

Including such an assertion in the argumentation of the censure motion seems even more incomprehensible since with only one exception all the other political parties that are coauthors of the motion formerly rejected directly or indirectly the idea of such tension. As a matter of fact, on the occasion of the visit of the Council of Europe rapporteur, virtually all formations that are part of the signatories of the motion made completely different statements from those included in the censure motion. Thus we realize that the motion refers to an extremely important element, which, at least in the way it is voiced, constitutes the subject of a true national contestation. Within this context, one has to emphasize that the statute of minorities is not and cannot be only a problem of the government. This statute is to a great extent, sometimes exclusively, a problem of the legislative body, of the political parties, and of the nation.

The Romanian Government takes this opportunity to once again affirm its determination to ensure the effective implementation of the provisions of the constitution and the other legal provisions that guarantee a respect of ethnic minorities' rights at the level of European standards on this issue. The actions of the government will continue to take into consideration the application of all legal provisions and likewise to promote new regulations that will take into consideration the obligations incumbent on Romania as a result of its acceptance, as a member with full rights, in the Council of Europe. As a matter of fact, the government officially declared that once the procedure of admittance into the Council of Europe is concluded, Romania will adhere to the European convention of fundamental human rights and freedoms and will act for the complete harmonization as soon as possible, of legislation and internal procedure on the subject of human rights, including the right of people who belong to ethnic minorities, with the provisions of the Council of Europe convention.

The government believes that to raise this false problem in the censure motion shows a departure from reality and from national interests. [applause]

We are convinced that through the unity of Romanians, regardless of nationality, our country will overcome the current difficulties and will achieve the objectives of the government program regarding the transition to a prosperous market economy. As far as we are concerned, we assure Parliament that we have acted and will continue to act to implement the provisions of Romania's Constitution, according to which the citizens of our country are equals before the law and public authorities, without privileges and without discrimination. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, parliamentarians: despite the concrete measures presented both in the basic document and in its annexes, in conclusion to the censure motion, the following assertion is included, quote, the government is leading the country toward restoration and stagnation, toward a model characterized by monopolism, mass poverty, and instability, unquote.

This is an affirmation that can only surprise us because our whole strategy is aimed at creating conditions to accelerate socioeconomic reforms, halt the decline of production and relaunch economic growth, eliminate positions of monopoly, develop small and medium-sized private enterprises and competition, and develop social structures that are specific to the market economy.

Ladies and gentlemen, parliamentarians, I believe that it is not necessary to recall, not even partially, the group of measures that had been proposed for this area of activity. However, I am duty bound to stress that in accord with these measures, the government expressed in no uncertain terms the decision to protect and stimulate the social category of small owners, which is becoming increasingly predominant in Romania's occupational structure; to keep as small as possible the number of those who do not own any property, and persuade the big capital owners to adopt a modern economic and social behavior, in accordance with the objectives of the reform. For each of these social categories there are also measures that we had envisaged and which are taking concrete shape: the participation of employees in the capital of the company where they work and actions to orient profits toward social, cultural, and artistic activities and others. As far as the orientation toward restoration is concerned, I believe that this affirmation lacks any grounds and we assure you that it cannot destabilize our efforts to create the necessary conditions to continue with reforms and continue restructuring the entire Romanian society.

We can only recall what we stressed in the final part of the report presented before you, namely our unwavering belief that no matter whether the censure motion is or is not adopted, the reform cannot be turned from its path because our country's basic needs decisively depend on the continuation of the steady pace of the reform. This is a goal of national interest, whose achievement draws the entire constructive and creative potential of the Romanian people. Thank you. [prolonged applause]

### Akmadzic: Izetbegovic Not 'Legitimate President'

*LD1803142593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—Alija Izetbegovic is not the legitimate president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency because his mandate, which expired on 20 December last year has not been prolonged, Mile Akmadzic, prime minister of the Muslim-Croatian government of Bosnia-Herzegovina cotends in an interview to Zagreb GLOBUS weekly. Akmadzic says that representatives of the three nations will rotate at the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency every six months when the provisional authorities are constituted after the peace agreement has been signed.

According to Akmadzic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitution sets out that the government and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency consist of representatives of all three nations, but currently such composition does not exist in any of these bodies. Therefore one cannot speak about demands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, but only about demands of the Muslim side, Akmadzic says, adding that this also refers to stands presented in New York in which corrections of the Vance-Owen plan are sought. I do not support these stands, Akmadzic states.

He also says that Haris Silajdzic cannot attend negotiations in the capacity of Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign minister, but only as a member of the Muslim delegation. At the same time, Akmadzic says, Muhamed Sacirbej is not the Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador to the United Nations, because it was neither the government nor any other competent body of Bosnia-Herzegovina that appointed him to that function. "Sacirbej is only a private representative of Alija Izetbegovic in New York," Akmadzic states.

### Starving Srebrenica Refugees 'Fighting Over Food'

*AU1803125193 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Sarajevo, March 18 (AFP)—Four starving refugees have died in the last few days in Srebrenica while fighting over food, as a U.N. spokesman voiced optimism that a U.N. relief convoy would be allowed into the besieged Moslem enclave Thursday [18 March].

Peter Kessler, a spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said his counterpart in Srebrenica, Larry Hollingworth, had reported the four deaths during a radio contact.

Hollingworth told him the famine situation was getting worse and that refugees were surviving on wild fruits and a flour-based soup.

Bosnian Serb forces have refused to allow a stranded aid convoy through to the town. General Philippe Morillon, the U.N. forces commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, has been in the city for a week and has pledged to remain there until the Serbs release the convoy and allow the wounded to be evacuated by helicopter.

Kessler said Morillon had "given the go ahead for the convoy to advance." But Jose Gallegos, a spokesman with the United Nations Protection Force, said the convoy was waiting for a downed bridge to be repaired before proceeding.

Gallegos said he was optimistic the repairs would be completed Thursday. He said Serb forces requested that two United Nations armoured vehicles escort them to the bridge site to that they could repair it.

Hollingworth, during his radio conversation with Kessler, said that the mortality rate in Srebrenica was extremely high and local doctors were overworked. He said only the strongest are able to retrieve food supplies airdropped by American planes.

The town is swollen with thousands of refugees who fled other enclaves.

### U.N. Srebrenica Convoy Halted After One Mile

*AU1903100993 Paris AFP in English 1003 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, March 19 (AFP)—A U.N. relief convoy bound for the besieged Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica after a nine-day holdup was blocked by the Yugoslav army Friday [19 March] only moments after it got under way.

A Yugoslav armored vehicle and about 10 Yugoslav army soldiers stopped the 12-truck convoy barely two kilometers (about a mile) along the way, just at the town's limits.

Its passage to Srebrenica where thousands are facing famine has been held up by Bosnian Serbs.

### 'Armed Yugoslav Troops' Turn Back Aid Convoy

*AU1803180793 Paris AFP in English 1749 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, March 18 (AFP)—A U.N. convoy that was finally allowed to leave this Serbian town with aid for starving refugees in eastern Bosnia was turned back Thursday [18 March] by armed Yugoslav troops after barely half an hour on the road.

A police and army roadblock in Velika Reka inside Serbia, some 30 kilometers (18 miles) from Mali Zvornik, prevented the convoy from proceeding towards the besieged Moslem town of Srebrenica.

"We have orders from Belgrade not to let the convoy through," one of the Yugoslav police officers wearing flak jackets told an AFP reporter accompanying the mission.

"The policemen said they had not been authorized to let us through even though I believe Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had given his personal approval," convoy commander Colonel Wouter van Dijk said after 30 minutes of fruitless bargaining.

He then ordered the 12-truck convoy to return to Mali Zvornik, where it had been held up for the past week while tens of thousands of Moslems faced starvation in enclaves after being besieged by Serb forces in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina for nearly a year.

The U.N. commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Philippe Morillon, who has been in Srebrenica for a week, has pledged to remain in the Moslem enclave until the relief aid arrived and the wounded were evacuated.

"This is the fourth time they've done this to us in a week. I can't do anything about it," said the clearly irritated U.N. officer pointing to a Yugoslav armored vehicle and the 30-odd policemen and soldiers blocking the route beyond Velika Reka.

The convoy left Mali Zvornik, on the Drina river which forms the Serbian-Bosnian border, after the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) gave in to Bosnian Serb demands that only two armored vehicles and an armored ambulance would escort the convoy.

"We are going to Srebrenica with a Bosnian Serb liaison officer. We will try to evacuate wounded from Srebrenica to Tuzla and evacuate from Tuzla the Serbs who want to leave that city," Van Dijk said before leaving.

Tuzla is a Moslem-controlled city about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Srebrenica, whose population, swollen to more than 50,000 with the arrival of refugees from nearby Serb-captured villages, is suffering from starvation, disease and cold.

The convoy was to have driven south along the Drinato Ljubovija, just past Velika Reka, before heading into Bosnian territory across a bridge leading to Bratunac, a Serbian-held town about 10 kilometers (six miles) north of Srebrenica.

A noncommissioned French army officer said that "the situation is worsening, and convoys are finding it increasingly difficult to get through."

Detonations from artillery fire could be heard on the Bosnian side of the Drina river.

In Geneva, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata "vehemently" condemned the "unacceptable attitude of the Bosnian Serb military" for preventing the humanitarian aid from getting through.

French Prime Minister Pierre Beregovoy said in a further reaction on French radio that it was "up to the United Nations to show more authority" in Bosnia-Herzegovina as "it appears that the Bosnian Serbs no longer obey anybody."

According to [UN]HCR officials with Morillon in Srebrenica, about 30 people are dying of cold and hunger every day.

UNHCR representative Larry Hollingworth, who is in Srebrenica with Morillon, said late Wednesday that residents were killing each other to grab supplies parachuted in by the U.S. airdrop over eastern Bosnia.

## UNPROFOR Seeks Placing of Observers in Srebrenica

*LD1803200593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 18 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—Sarajevo-based UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] on Thursday [18 March] sought the Serb Republic (R.S.) authorities's consent to deploy U.N. military observers in the Srebrenica region, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, TANJUG learned from the R.S. president's office.

The UNPROFOR's written request sought siting two observers on each of three points in and around Srebrenica, the town where the UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, French General Philippe Morillon has been since last Thursday.

Previous requests by UNPROFOR for siting observers have not been accepted by the Serb side.

The Bosnian Serb authorities assessed that the goal of the entire move was to protect the Moslem combat lines, meaning it was aimed against the Serb side, or, to put it differently, as assistance to one of the warring sides—the Moslem side.

For this reason, the R.S. authorities would seek a meeting with Gen. Philippe Morillon.

Located in Srebrenica already are three military observers of the peace keeping forces and two representatives of the American Armed Forces.

They had entered the town illegally, accompanied by Gen. Morillon, TANJUG's reporter was told.

The U.S. officially does not have its forces within UNPROFOR, but the entry into the town of one its majors and one its sergeants in uniforms with markings on which French flags are shown, only confirms that these forces are obviously present in these areas, it was pointed out at the R.S. president's office.

The presence of American officers in Srebrenica was made public by Gen. Morillon who explained they had been assigned to guiding the planes engaged in the airdrops of humanitarian relief.

### UN Convoys to Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zepa Halted by Fighting

*LD1803161193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1526 GMT 18 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—A convoy of the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was unable to enter Sarajevo on Thursday [18 March] because of battles fought in the city, spokeswoman of the Belgrade UNHCR office Lyndall Sachs told TANJUG.

Fighting forced another UNHCR convoy, which had left for the Muslim town of Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina (BIH) on Thursday morning, to return to the Serbian town of Zvornik in eastern Bosnia.

Sachs said fighting accounted also for the fact that an UNHCR convoy bound for Zepa, a town south of Zvornik, had been brought to a halt.

Sachs said the UNHCR convoy with humanitarian aid for the Muslim town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia was still waiting in Mali Zvornik, a town on the River Drina's right bank in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Sachs said the Belgrade UNHCR office had been informed over the phone by its representatives in Zvornik on Thursday that the convoy was waiting in Mali Zvornik for permission to pass.

The convoy has for days not been able to proceed because the local Muslim military commanders have denied it permission to enter Srebrenica, insisting that a Srebrenica-Tuzla airlift be organized to evacuate women, children and the wounded.

The military authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs have approved the passage of the convoy across the territory of the Serbian Republic in BiH.

The opening of the land corridor for the evacuation of the wounded Muslims and civilians to Tuzla, on condition the convoy returns from Tuzla with released Serbs, was reached on Monday with the commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, French General Philippe Morillon.

Approximately 18,000 Serbs in Tuzla are subjected to the terror of the Muslim authorities and no humanitarian aid has been reaching them.

### Morillon Reportedly Arrives in Mali Zvornik

*AU1903125293 Paris AFP in English 1234 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (AFP)—U.N. commander General Philippe Morillon arrived in the Serbian border town of Mali Zvornik Friday [19 March] in a new bid to secure permission for a stranded U.N. relief convoy to head for the besieged Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica, the Serbian news agency SRNA reported.

But Morillon's office here could not confirm the report.

Yugoslav troops again blocked the convoy here earlier Friday moments after it set off for Srebrenica as the Bosnian radio reported that aircraft flying from Serbia dropped toxic gas bombs on the besieged Bosnian Moslem enclave.

A U.N. spokesman in Mali Zvornik, where the relief convoy has been held up by Yugoslav and Bosnian Serb forces for nine days said Morillon, who has been in the besieged enclave for a week, was due here to work out a settlement.

### Serbs Protest German Involvement in Airdrops

*LD1803202193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1937 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Serbian Republic in BiH (RS) on Thursday [18 March] sent a sharp protest to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command for Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and the General Staff of the Command of the U.S. Forces for Europe because of the German Air Force's plans to join [word indistinct] operation of aid parachuting to eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The statement released by the office of the RS prime minister said the presence of any German Air Force units could only cause mistrust and indignation among the population, for which it said deep historical reasons existed.

The statement said the inclusion of the German Air Force into the aid-dropping operation was contrary to the agreement reached on February 25 by the RS prime minister, Vladimir Lukic, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Philippe Morillon, and General Jim Jones of the General Staff of the command of U.S. Forces for Europe that "any introduction of new elements requires the consent of the RS Government, which has not been respected in this case."

### Izetbegovic Prepared To Continue Military Fight

*LD1903001193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2337 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—After leaving the peace negotiations in New York, Bosnian Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic told Moslem Radio Sarajevo on Thursday [18 March] evening that it was necessary to "hold out and continue fighting with military and political means for Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Speaking live from New York, Izetbegovic promised the Bosnia-Herzegovina Moslem Army that he would do all "for it to get what it needs."

Izetbegovic added that he expected that the U.S. Government would "finally say truthfully what it could and what it could not do."

Izetbegovic insists that the Moslem side in the Bosnian conflict be exempt from the UN embargo on arms imports, and insists on a foreign military intervention, in the hope of achieving his plans for a unitarian Bosnia, a move opposed by local Serbs and Croats.

If the negotiations in New York continue, I will talk only with peace mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. I have no intention of meeting with Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic, said Izetbgovic leaving the negotiations.

### Karadzic Says Talks Depend on Territory Exchange

*LD1903154993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said today that progress in negotiations can only be achieved if agreement is reached on an exchange of territory.

Commenting for Radio Politika on last night's talks in New York, Karadzic said that an exchange of territory can be carried out on the basis of existing maps and the actual distribution of the population.

He explained that "this means that Serbian territories which have fallen into Muslim and Croatian provinces must be treated as Serbian and then, eventually, exchanged."

Karadzic stressed that in the first direct talks with Mate Boban, the president of the National Community of Croats, which were held last night in the presence of Vance and Owen, the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, there were no concrete conclusions, but agreement was reached with regard to Sarajevo.

President Karadzic did not explain what kind of agreement was reached, but he said that if the Muslims were to agree the war around Sarajevo would cease, and then the end of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina would also be close. "It remains for us, however, to meet the Muslims in direct talks," he added.

Karadzic said that the Muslim stand is still not known. "it is possible that they will sign the maps, but that does not resolve the problem. Even if we sign them as well, that would not mean anything, only further confrontation," he said, "because the people will not be manipulated and handed over to the administration of a Muslim-Croat majority, when they can be their own masters."

As regards the setting up of a five-member commission which would be charged with the correction of borders following the signing of the maps, Karadzic said that it has been envisaged that the commission would go into the field and establish where the real border runs, accoridng to what has already been agreed, and then carry out slight corrections.

"Cosmetic changes to the maps," that is, slight corrections, cannot satisfy the Serbian side, Karadzic stressed, saying that the border commission can be set up "once the maps have been considerably changed and signed."

Asked what can be expected from the continuation of negotiations, given that the co-chairmen have said that this time there will be no postponing of a solution, Karadzic replied: "I do not know what they mean by that, but if they mean to force us to sign the maps as they are, we shall not do it. We have not got a mandate from our people for that."

"In that case we shall return to our assembly and explain the kinds of pressure and blackmail to which we have been exposed. Then the assembly will decide on it—maybe not even the assembly—it will be up to the people to decide," Karadzic said.

Asked whether the Muslim side has been threatened with sanctions if it does not sign the maps, as the Serbs from Bosnia and Serbia have been warned, he said that it was obvious that "Serbs do not enjoy equal treatment" in negotiations.

Karadzic recalled that the Serbian side has warned the cochairmen and the public that in the event that sanctions against the FRY are tightened, the Serbian side will leave the conference.

"If they introduce sanctions against us, that will de facto mean that they have recognized us as a state. At the same time they would drive us out of the conference which would force us to seek full independence", the Bosnian Serb leader said.

In conclusion he said that the Serbian people will probably have to face a final decision. "We shall present to our people all possible options and threats, some of which are realistic, but all together they are not stronger than the people and their will," the president of the Serbian republic concluded.

### Karadzic Compares Serbs' Situation With Czechs in 1938

*AU1803160293 Prague CTK in English 1739 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (CTK)— The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will end when the international community really wants it to end, Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's Serbs, told CTK today, prior to his departure for New York to continue talks on ending war in Bosnia.

The president of the so-called Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] expressed certain skepticism over the results of the New York talks, explaining that in his

view, the parties involved in the conflict in Bosnia have no real influence on securing peace in the region.

If the leading powers wanted it, there could be peace immediately, Karadzic said. He noted that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a great opportunity for powerful armament circles in the world.

Karadzic also said he believes General Philippe Morillon, head of the United Nations forces in Bosnia, has really been taken hostage by Moslems in Srebrenica.

He said he himself approved Monday [15 March] a humanitarian convoy being let into the trapped Moslem enclave of Srebrenica today. On its return, the wounded should be taken away from the besieged town and Morillon should return with them, Karadzic said. Asked what the Serbs will do if Morillon does not return from Srebrenica, Karadzic said that all humanitarian aid would be halted until his release.

The leader of Bosnian Serbs expressed fear of a new global conflict. He said the Serbs are now in the same situation as the Czechs in 1938 (the year of the Munich agreement in which Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany agreed on passing Czechoslovakia's border regions to Hitler's Germany—ed).

The Serbs, however, will not give up, Karadzic said.

In this context he said that a German Europe is coming into being, with the united Germany swallowing economically all the small states in its neighborhood, among them the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Karadzic said.

He said the Western powers are doing nothing to oppose this. Great Britain and France realize the danger but are helpless under the current state of affairs. As for the United States, Karadzic said, it is satisfied with such a development, which will make impossible the creation of a strong, United Europe. This is why the U.S. is contributing to the birth of two regional powers in Europe—Germany and Turkey, Karadzic said.

## Muslim Commander Accuses Halilovic of Treason

*LD1803205793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] [correspondent] Armin Pohara, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army main headquarters and former commander of the Bosnian Posavina defense, spoke at today's regular HVO [Bosnian Croat military and political authorities] news conference. He spoke after sending an open letter to the Presidency and the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the letter, Pohara demands that the responsibility of Sefer Halilovic, chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, be established for the way he handled the operation of the Sarajevo deblockade, as well as for his overall military strategy.

Pohara also said that Halilovic was a citizen of Serbia, qualifying his activities as high treason.

[Begin Pohara recording] We have had no military victories; we have been suffering defeats. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army leadership is pushing us into conflicts with the Croats. The people and the Army are being tired out, the morale and the will of the Bosnian people is low—above all, among the Muslim people. It seems that a gradual return of Muslims to Yugoslavia is desired. I maintain that this is a case of high treason, and I am ready to oppose it by all means. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Pohara stressed that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is directly interfering in efforts to find a political solution for the organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Pohara recording] By supporting the so-called unitary concept of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state, which is completely unrealistic when compared with the force at its disposal, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army leadership is responsible for the situation in which we are behind in many aspects at the international level. It is also responsible for Serbia escaping without a larger share of the blame, and it is possible that it prevented a military intervention.

In the beginning, we got our weapons from Croats. Serbs slaughtered 200,000 of our people, and Croats gave shelter to 500,000 of our people. We should look at facts and not at fairy tales, as I like to put it. Even now, all humanitarian and military aid is arriving via Croatia. If the Croats wanted to destroy us, as some people think, they could have done this very simply. The only thing that the Croats wanted us to understand is that they want to be their own masters on their own soil. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Finally, Pohara stressed that he was now a former member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army main headquarters, that is, that he did not want to cooperate with people who are directly destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## Government Demands 'Urgent' UNSC Meeting

*AU1803210093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] On the occasion of the aggressor's new all-out offensive on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the government of our state, in support of the presidential statement of 17 March, has sent the Security Council a letter in which it demands the following:

Another urgent session of the UN Security Council and the adoption of a resolution that would order the aggressor to stop the offensive on the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The implementation should be ensured with efficient measures.

The government also asks that the Security Council implement by force the ban on enemy aircraft flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina as the corresponding Security

Council Resolution on the no-fly zone has not had any effect. This is proven by the exact fact of 465 cases of banned violations of the airspace of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the most recent raid of the Srebrenica region by aircraft of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We also demand that the international forces block the border between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to prevent the engagement of the Yugoslav Army and foreign mercenaries in their aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to stop the logistic support to the aggressor from the territory of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is said in the letter by the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the UN Security Council.

## Ganic Claims Attacks Aim To Hinder Talks

*AU1803212193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Report by correspondent Mladen Bosnjak; Ganic comments recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bosnjak] Swedish General Lars Eric Wahlgren, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for former Yugoslavia, met Bosnia-Herzegovina's highest state and military officials during his visit to Sarajevo today. He was received in the Presidency building by Ejup Ganic, Tatjana Ljuic Mijatovic, and Mirko Pejanovic, all members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency; General Staff Commander Sefer Halilovic; and Jovan Divljak, deputy commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. [passage omitted]

Ejup Ganic held a news conference immediately after the talks with Gen. Wahlgren. The situation in eastern Bosnia—especially in Srebrenica—and today's fierce attacks on Sarajevo were direct reasons for Ganic's address to the domestic and international public, but also an opportunity for numerous journalists, especially foreign ones, to ask questions:

[Ganic] The situation is very difficult, especially in Srebrenica, where the enemy is attacking from all sides despite the fact that Gen. Morillon is in Srebrenica and that the United States is indirectly present with their daily delivery of humanitarian aid. The aggressor today halted all convoys traveling to Srebrenica, Gorazde, Tuzla, and all the other endangered towns. The aggressor also embarked upon a massive attack on the city of Sarajevo coinciding with the arrival of the UNPROFOR commander for the territories of former Yugoslavia. However, we did not take the attack on Sarajevo lying down. Our units are in position, ready and resisting the aggressor without any panic.

The key question is why the aggressor has done this at this moment. Actually, he has done this because no type of peace process and peace suits him. This is a deliberate attempt to provoke our delegation into not attending the negotiations in New York so that the international community could then share out the responsibility in the sense of, here you go, not all of them are present in New York. We contacted our delegation in New York 90 minutes ago. They know what is going on in Sarajevo, Srebrenica, and throughout Bosnia, and they are taking part in the talks, and they know exactly why the enemy has launched this operation precisely at this very moment.

[Boskovic] When a journalist stated that the UN troops have been, despite everything that they are doing at the moment, nevertheless late in taking action over Srebrenica, Ejup Ganic replied that he concurred with this conclusion and added:

[Ganic] This is incredible impertinence on the part of the aggressor, without any precedent in history. This is a fascist regime that simply goes against the entire international community by assuring itself that the international community will not use force and is not capable of using force. Therefore, the fate of Srebrenica and of eastern Bosnia is in the hands of our fighters. At the same time, it is in the hands of the United Nations and the United States, and the United Nations and the United States are present in Srebrenica.

[Boskovic] Asked by one of the numerous foreign journalists whether the purpose of the attacks by the aggressor—including that on Sarajevo today—was, in addition to hindering the talks in New York, also to conquer more territories, Ganic, among other things, said:

[Ganic] Their main objective is to obstruct the talks. However the aggressor's permanent objective is to attack the city, its residents, and to simply demolish Sarajevo. This was his constant task from the beginning of the aggression. This is a clash of two civilizations: this is primitivism, while there is civilization here. Unfortunately, we have problems with these people who spend their days and nights in the forests around Pale dreaming of destroying every village in Bosnia-Herzegovina, everything that civilization has created, and all this at the beginning of the 21st Century.

[Bosnjak] To conclude this report, we single out Ejup Ganic's reply to the last question of the news conference, referring to the strength and capability of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and state to resist the aggressor:

[Ganic] We are growing stronger every day. We are taking some new initiatives. Naturally, this behavior and the situation on the ground are a result of unfulfilled UN promises that humanitarian aid will be delivered to us.

There are problems in certain parts of our front connected with the fact that civilians do not have enough food, that is, they have no food at all, and this then makes our struggle more complicated. We have light arms and our fighters are doing everything they can to protect the civilians. This is a flexible type of defense and the enemy is suffering heavy losses, even here in Sarajevo today. [passage omitted]

## Sarajevo Radio Reports Serb Use of Chemicals

*AU1903092893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Mar 93*

[Text] We have just received a report from the Srebrenica war headquarters that from 0530 to 0540 today three aggressor air force aircraft were flying in the Srebrenica region. The aircraft came from the direction of Titovo Uzice. They dropped several bombs with chemical agents. We do not have more precise information on the consequences.

## Health Headquarters Issues Report on War Casualties

*AU1803172293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] The republic Health Headquarters presented black statistics of the 48th week of the war. According to the data collected so far, 135,971 people, 14,997 of which children, were killed in the course of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. There were 206,930 seriously or lightly injured people, of which 45,514 were children.

In Sarajevo alone 8,484 people, of which 1,284 were children, died. According to the reports received from east Bosnia, 4,546 people in this region died of cold and starvation alone, of which 1,873 were children.

### Krajina's Hadzic Dismisses Zecevic

*LD1803165693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Knin, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—On the basis of his constitutional power, Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, dismissed Zdravko Zecevic from the position as prime minister of the Krajina government, TANJUG has learned.

Djordje Bjegovic, Krajina minister of energy and mining, was appointed prime minister-designate of the Krajina government.

As an explanation to the dismissal says, Zecevic was dismissed due to his inefficiency, failure to carry out government decisions, and considerably damaged interpersonal relations which caused the deterioration of the overall political and economic situation in the republic of Serb Krajina.

The explanation further says that the new prime minister-designate of the Krajina governemnt, Djordje Bjegovic, has shown unquestionable qualities at his post so far. "I hold that he is the most competent person to take over this duty," Hadzic said in the decision on the appointment of Bjegovic as the new prime minister of the government of the republic of Serb Krajina.

TANJUG has learned from well-informed circles that Hadzic had signed these decisions before he left for Geneva yesterday.

### Ex-JNA Officer Sentenced for Dubrovnik Shelling

*AU1703173093 Paris AFP in English 1711 GMT 17 Mar 93*

[Text] Zagreb, March 17 (AFP)—An ex-Yugoslav army officer was sentenced to 15 years for shelling the historic port city of Dubrovnik, the daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA said Wednesday [17 March].

A Dubrovnik court Tuesday found Zeljko Soldo, a 32-year-old Croat from Mostar, guilty of a "crime against the civilian population" when former Yugoslav forces launched an offensive against Dubrovnik December 6, 1991, the Split newspaper said.

The court said that Soldo, as deputy commander of the ex-Yugoslav army's 3rd battalion, was aware of his superiors' orders to shell the Adriatic Sea town.

The shelling killed 13 people and wounded 28. The offensive also damaged 461 buildings in this city classified as a world heritage landmark by the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

After leaving the ex-Yugoslav army, Soldo went to Romania and then Bulgaria before returning to Mostar where Bosnian Croat forces arrested him and turned him over to the Dubrovnik authorities.

### Biograd, Villages in Hinterland Under Serb Attack

*LD1803180993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Report by correspondent Toni Pajkin from Zadar]

[Text] A general alert has been in force in Biograd since 1200. Serb outlaws opened fire from neighboring strongholds toward the town hinterland and this was followed by several missiles fired on the town itself. The Croatian Army responded fiercely to these attacks by opening fire on the enemy positions.

Following a relatively peaceful morning, at about noon the Serb paramilitaries began artillery attacks on our army positions in the northwestern part of the battlefiled. The Serbs opened fire from Nadin and other notorious strongholds in the occupied area. In the early part of the afternoon, civilian targets were again shelled from long-range artillery weapons, including villages in Ravni Kotari, particularly Gorica, Rastane, and Galovac.

Zadar itself and its immediate environs have been quiet, but people still need to be especially cautious.

### 'Round-the-Clock' Battles Continue in Dalmatia

*LD1803172693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Knin, March 18 (TANJUG)—Practically round-the-clock battles on the northern Dalmatian front continued on Thursday morning [18 March], the General Staff of the republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) said.

The shelling of settlements in the area of Benkovac by Croatia's forces has been particularly heavy.

There were artillery-mortar duels also in the area of Drnis and the Skradin hinterland, where Croatia's fire was targeted at civilian facilities.

Battles were fought all along the line separating the warring sides on the Lika Front, i.e. along the edges of the U.N. Protected Area's (UNPA) sector south.

In the area of Banija, which is within the UNPA's sector north, Serbian forces clashed with Muslim forces from neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Serbian positions were shelled by Croatia's [words indistinct] from the River Sava's left bank.

The RSK army Krajina command said there were no casualties among its troops.

Applying the strategy of active defense, the RSK army is inflicting significant losses on the enemy, both in manpower, armament and other military equipment, the command said.

### Drnovsek, Cossiga Discuss Slovene-Italian Relations

*AU1803213993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek met with Senator Francesco Cossiga, former Italian president, in Ljubljana today. They discussed the political situation in Slovenia and in Italy, especially, the regulation of relations between the two states. They agreed that relations between Rome and Ljubljana are good and expressed the belief that relations will continue to develop in this direction.

At the same time Drnovsek and Cossiga warned of some extremists views which are clouding the actual situation on both sides.

### Peterle Comments on Italian Foreign Ministry Note

*AU1803171493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle by Nadja Pengov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Peterle] So far we have not received any official note from the Italian Foreign Ministry. It is true, however, that in the sense of this press note, we discussed the property of the people who opted to [optant] leave Slovenia after World War II on several occasions.

If the views voiced in the press note express the official stand of the Italian Foreign Ministry, then what is new to us is the attempt to make Slovenia's integration into Europe subject to the solution of open issues between Slovenia and Italy. There was no mention of this in the previous talks and Slovenia is, of course, not willing to accept such an approach.

From our standpoint the talks have barely begun. The talks really have not started at all since we have not reached the essential issues yet. Therefore, now that the Government and the State Chamber commission [for International Affairs] confirmed our initial position, we are about to enter a new circle of negotiations in which a package of issues will be specified. Then we will begin negotiations on ways to tackle these issues with relevant subcommissions or subcommittees, and only then will true negotiations about solutions to various issues begin.

Since the issues were merely noted, that is to say, acknowledged at this level, and since the package of issues is yet to be specified in Rome, nothing has been decided yet. Therefore, the issues that will make up this package are subject to negotiations and all the solutions will be sought within this framework.

We acknowledged Italy's desire to discuss the issue of property, too. The framework within which we will discuss this issue now depends upon our decisions. I would like to say that the pressures that we sense from the Italian side, I would say, at all state levels, in media, and in other ways, and which merely expose one dimension, one element of the relations between both countries, do not contribute toward a good atmosphere that would allow us to find good solutions that would be to mutual satisfaction. I believe that our essential task in these talks remains to create an adequate atmosphere that would bring out the elements of good will that can transcend certain legal formalities for the sake of good neighborly relations.

I expect that the Italian Foreign Ministry will inform us of its position with a relevant note.

[Pengov] The talks with Italy are supposed to continue in Rome next week. Will this happen?

[Peterle] These talks will take place, although it has already been proposed, especially by the public, that we should not attend these talks since the atmosphere is not very promising. However, I believe that we should continue negotiations and that our delegation must go to Rome. As I have already said, we have not actually reached the essential level of issues yet.

### New Slovene Foreign Minister Interviewed

*93BA0688G Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Feb 93 p 23*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle by Boris Jez; place and date not given: "I Do Not See Any Need for Washing Laundry"]

[Text] [Jez] We have heard that a new order can be sensed at the Foreign Ministry. It is said that there is less nervousness, and even less excitement, but on the other hand, there is more of a will to work. Are these reports correct?

[Peterle] To the extent that I have a feeling for the organization after one month, I would say that I sense a working mood, and I am glad of it. Of course, I cannot say in detail what it was like at times. Others would have to say that. At any rate, I want to establish the kind of atmosphere in this organization in which people will work gladly, everyone will be capable of making an impact, and the organization will function as a sort of organism with a common purpose. If the responses are along those lines, I am very glad, since only a team—including the leadership, obviously—can achieve anything.

[Jez] Do you think that the minister's personal tone is important only in heading the ministry, or is it also important in conducting a given state's foreign policy?

[Peterle] My experience—from my previous position as prime minister as well—is that one's personal tone and furthermore etiquette are an extremely important matter in relations between states. In the end, all relations start with contacts between different people. If an appropriate atmosphere does not occur here, in which trust or some

basic reliability are very important, as well as the intentions in communication—in short, if this does not exist, things are already on the wrong path. Wherever I have succeeded in establishing a good personal relationship, then afterward things also went well in a purely formal and businesslike sense. That is why I count a very great deal on that relationship. I think that an enormous amount can be done in politics, especially in foreign policy, with a personal relationship, with appropriate attention and an appropriate culture.

[Jez] The beginning of your term as minister also coincides with a sort of "turning point." Specifically, it has already been said several times that the romantic times of Slovene foreign policy are over, and that we are entering a period of a sort of Realpolitik. How would you fit your term as minister into that turning point?

[Peterle] I would say the following with respect to romanticism and Realpolitik. At times it seems to me that this contrast is perhaps too artificial. To me, of course, the period of the "previous round," and also in view of the office that I held, is an unrepeatable and one-time thing, since we only become independent once. Now it is only a new challenge for me. But if you wish, it also has romantic aspects. To illustrate: When the Indian ambassador and I noted that we were both beekeepers, we created one more link in our relations, and to me the fact that two men in this business can also be friends in beekeeping is romantic. Even with the business that is ahead of us now, there can still be a great deal of romanticism, if we understand it as a type of attitude toward life.

[Jez] In any case, the parable about romantic times and the times of Realpolitik is somewhat too abrupt, since even in the past there was a lot of "Realpolitik," and we hope that in the future as well there will still be healthy romanticism.

[Peterle] Yes. Let me add one more parallel. In particular, the critics of the government at that time said, "Independence is over; now it's time for the economy!" That issue was also artificially raised. For instance, monetary independence had an extremely economic function. Independence as a whole also served an economic function. It is just that you cannot do everything at once.

[Jez] So far the imperatives of Slovene foreign policy have been more or less clear, since first of all it was necessary to achieve international recognition. Now, we urgently need a comprehensive foreign policy strategy. It seems that Slovenia still does not have an appropriate analytical apparatus for these tasks, services that would analyze the areas around us more thoroughly. Are there any plans in the Foreign Ministry regarding this?

[Peterle] We are still developing an analytical section in the Foreign Ministry. That section is preparing analyses that we can rely on. We are familiar with the key facts in a somewhat changed world; we are also building on the correct assumptions for future development. I think that our actions reflect a certain strategy, which, of course, is never a completely public matter in foreign policy—neither strategy nor tactics. Of course, I think that we can speak without any difficulties about the priorities that I have explained several times these days: good-neighborliness, Slovenia's coming closer to Europe, work for the economic promotion and progress of Slovenia, and the involvement of Slovenes around the world. For me personally, and after what I have seen, encountered, and read in the organization, I must say that I do not have any fear about the strategy that we will prepare for the State Assembly.

[Jez] Didn't that strategy "get stuck" in parliament?

[Peterle] The previous strategy did get held up, and I think that a lot of things will have to be modified in accordance with new facts. Previously (before independence, before recognition, before certain developments in the Soviet Union) the assumptions were different. Of course, you have to base a strategy only on specific assumptions and specific items. If I may illustrate with our relations with Italy, previously the assumption of an enemy, an opponent, a potential attacker prevailed between Yugoslavia and Italy. Even when I spoke in the Clinical Center with JLA [Yugoslav People's Army] soldiers who were wounded, I asked them, "What did the officers tell you when you went into the tanks?" The officers said, "The enemy is invading from the west and the north, and it is necessary to defend the homeland." Now there is consequently another assumption: of friendly states, and both will be members of the EC. Another example is that the line that previously divided Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic will now no longer divide, but will instead entail new contents that will link Europe together. We have our own place in this. The geographic situation remains the same, but the geopolitical context has changed for Slovenia, and I think that Slovenia has to know how to make use of this during future developments. We have a circle of neighbors with whom we have to deal at an appropriate rate, technically and politically. In my opinion, the economic aspect of security is also an important aspect of security for Slovenia, if we have the best of relations with our neighbors. The priority line is the EC. There are three strategic lines on which we have to work as a Central European state. One is the line between the Baltic and the Adriatic, where the states are on the front line before the Europe that has already been formed, from Poland to us, i.e., Europe II. Then there is the development line that runs from the powerful southwest basin of Central Europe toward northeast Europe (the line that ends somewhere in Ukraine, and the western parts of the former Soviet Union); and of course, the Yugoslav line, the new states from the former Yugoslavia, where we also have economic interests, interests in normalization and an end to the conflict, and where the process of European integration will take place with a certain delay. A certain type of attention and work, very specific and very detailed, applies to each of these. The line toward the Baltic, which again requires a sort of attention, is one

thing, and the "project" line toward the northeast, in regard to which Slovenia has to prove itself as an active part, is another. This has to do with infrastructure projects—roads, railroads, etc.

[Jez] All of that geometry does not have to be debatable at all. It is necessary, however, to decide constantly where life is constantly creating problems for us, and at times it seems that we cannot decide, that we are wavering, or that we are deciding intuitively on individual matters. A characteristic example is the so-called Visegrad troika; we cannot decide whether to join or not, even though the Central European area is undoubtedly of exceptional importance to us in the future.

[Peterle] That area is very important to us. The universal features of that area also apply to Slovenia. I think that in this regard Slovenia has to develop two links—one directly, with the EC, and the other with the Visegrad troika (now a group of four). For the time being I do not see any particular need for institutional ties with the Visegrad troika. I think, however, that we have to have relations with it, do things together with it that are in the interest of all the participants, and keep strong ties directly with the EC. I think that a package is not necessary. I am convinced that in the future, in view of the developmental advantages that Slovenia has, and in view of the volume of its business with the EC, it will be able to compensate for the formal advantage of the Visegrad troika, which has already obtained associate status.

[Jez] Since we are already talking about relations with our neighbors, who will undoubtedly be one of the priorities in any foreign policy strategy, we naturally cannot overlook relations with Croatia and your rather optimistic statements after the last meeting with Croatian Foreign Minister Skrabalo. What was your optimism based on?

[Peterle] I did not express great optimism; I said that I was an optimist, since I am convinced of the seriousness on both sides, and thus of the basic interest in our having the best possible relations, as the neighbors with the longest border, since everything that is wrong on that border will hurt both sides. That is why tensions, polemics, and unilateral actions are not useful in this regard. On that day I also built my optimism on the fact that I had met an extremely constructive interlocutor, Croatian Foreign Minister Dr. Skrabalo; our methodologies coincided considerably, and on that basis we also agreed relatively quickly on a procedure for starting to settle the unresolved issues. It was important that the train of the talks that are now taking place at the ministerial and expert level got started. In short, a step was taken; it has to be followed by others. At that time I was genuinely glad about the talks with him, since for some time relations had literally cooled.

[Jez] At this moment, how are the negotiations at the expert level going? The public does not know anything about it....

[Peterle] At this time the talks are taking place, as we agreed. The interior ministers have met, and the agriculture ministers are in contact; also planned are talks between the ministers for the economy, for health care (involving the issue of the registration of medicines, etc.).... In short, things are happening, and on that basis results also have to come.

[Jez] At times it seems that we are nevertheless somewhat "too gentle" with Croatia, and that we act too mildly in conflict situations. Does Slovene policy have a clear "plan" for measures or for scaling its measures with respect to this? I have in mind, of course, the controversial logging in the Sneznik forests and other similar conflicts.

[Peterle] I cannot speak very precisely about that matter. Our intention, and that of the Croats as well, is to handle matters as a package, i.e., as a whole, in order to resolve what can be resolved first, and the rest later on. I could not talk about who is thinking of setting what conditions on what. We will certainly have different views to consider—on the seriousness of an individual issue, on the seriousness of yielding on individual issues on one side or the other. Now that process has started again, we will record things and classify them, construct them in terms of significance, and prepare solutions for confirmation at an intergovernmental level. Strategy also includes the starting point that an individual issue must not jeopardize relations as a whole.

[Jez] The government has to pay attention to public opinion, but it also has to have its own logic of action.

[Peterle] At any rate, I would say that we have a strategy.

[Jez] What does Slovene policy intend to do about protecting our property in Croatia? This has to do, for instance, with the brewery in Buzet and all sorts of other things. We have information that the Union would like to exchange the brewery for a specific Croatian property in Bovec, but the other side does not agree with this, because it probably thinks that in the end it will have both.

[Peterle] In these talks, it will be necessary to establish precise principles and playing rules, and also to conclude agreements on that basis. I also told my Croatian counterpart that we viewed these matters solely within the framework of European standards, and that we would not permit interference with our property. Perhaps sometimes it will be necessary to proceed on a case-by-case basis. I will speak with Ministers Tajnikar and Kracun about how to protect the property if there are unilateral actions.

[Jez] After the last meeting with the Italian Foreign Minister Colombo, how would you assess our relations with our western neighbor? People in Italy are talking about revising the Osimo agreements, while we are talking about "expanding" them.

[Peterle] I think that Foreign Minister Colombo and I decided correctly when we said that in a phase in which we are beginning again in a way, we should not go into details, but rather leave precision to be reached at the expert level, at the level of negotiating groups. These will start work at the beginning of next week. In fact, if I were now to characterize in advance one action or another, one approach or another, with strong words and precise definitions, then in many respects I would make our negotiating position worse. I think that it is methodologically correct that with both the Italians and the Croats we are putting things in a certain order; we will agree on a procedure, we will say where additional clarification or expert opinion is needed, where we can settle things with the people available at the moment, where a political stimulus is needed, etc. In that sense, we are in the same position with Italy as with the Croats.

[Jez] It seems that in the negotiations with the Italians the Slovene side is nevertheless in a certain inferior position. The position of the Italian minority here is constitutionally and legally well regulated, according to all European standards, and it is nevertheless becoming a subject for intergovernmental diplomatic trading. Furthermore, it even somehow has more "emphasis" than our minority on the Italian side, which is far from being as well protected.

[Peterle] I would not say that this is a case of any sort of inferior position, but rather of the beginning of negotiations, in which all the positions are not yet known, and also the priorities have not been coordinated. The a priori starting point is equal value and equal rights in these negotiations. With respect to the Italian minority here and the Slovene minority there, we have already said several times that we want to deal with the issues at the same time. What kind of agreement there will be on it then is another matter. We already proposed in the past that we would deal with these matters with a bilateral agreement; Italy is obligated by the Osimo agreements to prepare comprehensive protection for the Slovenes in Italy. We regulated it here on a different basis for the Italian minority here. The key thing that is the subject of polemics is the different views of the past, of the legal order that followed the political turbulence after World War II; of course, there are also memories here of events under fascism. This province experienced two kinds of totalitarianism, first fascism and then communism. It is necessary simply to take note of that and prepare actions, of a professional, political, and legal nature so that we will somehow overcome the shadows from the past. I myself do not see any inferiority. The fact that the position of Italians is better regulated here than that of Slovenes in Italy does not indicate our inferiority. It can thus also be viewed differently.

[Jez] Well, perhaps inferiority is a bit too crude an expression, but at any rate it seems that in the beginning of the negotiations we are accepting a somewhat lower position.

[Peterle] I do not agree.

[Jez] In foreign policy language, the so-called individualization of Slovenia is mentioned a great deal. You have also mentioned, as the basis for our recognition in the world and our advancement, internal solidity and the relative stability of the government. Is the present government really solid?

[Peterle] For the time being I would say that it is acting solidly. It is true, however, that it has only been in the saddle for a month, and the question is what will be shown by the budget, and by the handling of the economic and social policy that goes along with the budget. Various other dilemmas that are outside of the coalition agreement will also appear, since the coalition agreement does not specify everything. I think, however, that the kind of structure that we have is more than a short-term guarantee that we will be able to use the right political devices to resolve the situations that arise or have already arisen. I think that this formula leads to stability.

[Jez] Then the so-called historic compromise is not just a current agreement among political elites, but may only be a continuation for a different kind of development in the future?

[Peterle] Certainly. The concept of separation did not prevail, but rather the concept of cooperation. I think that in a state in transition (in the kind we are in) this is very important.

[Jez] Isn't there a danger that because of personnel disagreements or some other kind everything could suddenly be upset?

[Peterle] For the time being, there have not been any major conflicts or disagreements. I expect that that will also be the case in the future, during the entire period of the term. It is true, however, that many personnel issues are still unresolved. Basically, however, it was agreed that the ministers would take care of an inverted pyramid and that in doing so they would strictly observe the criterion of expertise. I would mention here that some of them are still talking about the party key as a problematical principle, but I think that in a multiparty system a party that wants to remain in power would not risk poor personnel in any position, because by doing so it would hurt itself most of all. In a one-party system you can also play with this, because you do not have any oversight or opposition, whereas in that system in simply does not work.

[Jez] It nevertheless seems that there is still a lot of jostling in the ruling coalition, especially in the personnel area. In this context people often mention in particular the diplomatic-consular network, and in this connection the name of France Juri is especially mentioned. According to the latest information, he is now supposed to be a candidate for ambassador to Madrid? What is going on?

[Peterle] No one who spreads information or disinformation on this subject is helping our diplomacy or the possible candidates; I therefore do not intend to talk

about who will go where, until there is agrement to confirm a candidate in a given state, in accordance with diplomatic customs. That is the custom. During this polemical period Mr. Juri and I contacted each other twice and agreed that after everything that has happened it is not appropriate to insist on waiting for agrement. Mr. Juri wants to remain available for any similar service. That is our agreement.

[Jez] What about the embassy in France?

[Peterle] A proposal will be formulated soon regarding it. The French side has expressed interest on several occasions in having that position filled, and a proposal will go to the government soon. In that case as well, however—if I want to be professional—I must not talk about names in advance.

[Jez] In any case, it is a bit surprising that the French have had an ambassador here for several months, but we are still hesitating over our own man in Paris.

[Peterle] The strange situation arose when my predecessor, completely in violation of the rules in effect, went in front of the camera to say himself that Mr. Capuder was the candidate for Paris. That met with a very poor response, and it also influenced Mr. Capuder's decision against continued proceedings.

[Jez] It seems that we are not yet skilled in intergovernmental etiquette.

[Peterle] With respect to etiquette the matter is very simple: It is necessary to be quiet until the candidate receives agrement. If the previous minister had mastered that, he would have done a great deal for our reputation. Unfortunately, it was otherwise.

With respect to how the diplomatic and consular representations will function, and how things will develop in that area, I would like to say the following: in this area as well I want to reflect the democratic structure in Slovenia, and attract new personnel, and of course I cannot agree to the thesis that the only professionals are those who previously worked in Yugoslav diplomacy. We cannot get anywhere that way, of course. Even the people at our diplomatic and consular posts agree with that position and expect that kind of behavior.

[Jez] A great deal has been said about the predominance of the so-called Belgrade personnel. That would not be controversial by itself, if there were not also the dangers of the predominance of a certain well-known specific way of thinking. How would you assess the situation in this regard?

[Peterle] As long as we only had diplomacy through Belgrade, I criticized the fact that we had proportionately few diplomats there. At that time it was in Slovenia's interest to have as many diplomats as possible. It was not able to win more than those, however. Of course, those people are not to blame because they were in Belgrade. What kind of education they went through, what the party did with them, and what the KOS [counterintelligence] or someone else did with them, of course, is a different matter. My assumption is and the statements of these people are that they want to work for Slovenia, that they are loyal to the Slovene state, and the Slovene state has also included them in its diplomatic work—without exception, I think. On the subject of Yugoslavism (on the basis of the fact that they were previously in Belgrade or around the world on behalf of Yugoslavia), I am not creating any problems. I would if I saw that a former way of thinking in the professional sense were too present, if models or structures that are not appropriate for Slovenia were drawn from previous habits, or if there were alliances that are not in Slovenia's interests or even against its interests. It would obviously be necessary to act appropriately in this. Otherwise, I think that these are mostly people who are now advantageously using their experience for the good of Slovenia, and that also applies to the ties that they had before as diplomats.

[Jez] Perhaps we have not completely gotten rid of the Belgrade syndrome; just as Yugoslavia had an oversized foreign policy network, there are also aspirations here to have a large apparatus, much larger than is "suitable" for a state with two million people. We would like to be present everywhere, from Europe to the nonaligned and Islamic states, etc.

[Peterle] I do not know that we would like to be present everywhere. We probably will not have more than 30 embassies around the world. I think that the optimum would be about 25 embassies.

Look, if we were not in Africa or the Arab countries we would be criticized for not paying attention to that world, in which there are many people, many needs, and even interest in cooperating with Slovenia. This network will obviously develop in accordance with Slovenia's interests. If it turns out anywhere that our presence is too small, it will be necessary to strengthen the network, and if analysis shows that we have gone too far somewhere, we will curtail it. I am thus intending to act flexibly in this regard. A proposal will also be made now to open our diplomatic mission in Tehran. It is supported by extensive bilateral agreements. We do not just have an interest in having an embassy there, but also a need for one. The same is true of Australia, which is very interested in business with Slovenia. We also have a lot of our own people there. So far I do not see anything megalomaniacal in this area. I myself want to make sure that we will behave in accordance with our weight and in accordance with our interests.

It is true, however, that there is a great deal of desire and also offers. We have to behave rationally.

[Jez] In addition to you, Milan Kucan and Janez Drnovsek are certainly among the heads of foreign policy. How is that triangle functioning?

[Peterle] That triangle is just being established. We have prepared a draft of the rules that should apply to the foreign policy activities of the state president and the Foreign

Ministry. According to our constitution, the president only has a representational role, and the executive power in this area belongs to the government (in this framework, primarily the Foreign Ministry). In this case, obviously, it is simply necessary to establish the playing rules in view of the new constitutional order here, and then adhere to them. With respect to the prime minister the relationship is simpler; I do not expect any particular problems in that regard. But it really will be necessary to settle the triangle so that the rules will be clear.

[Jez] In the future, then, there will no longer be the kind of disorganization that we observed during the "romantic" times of our diplomacy, when, for instance, Slovene delegations in Rome cross paths?

[Peterle] I would like to have us prepare a plan for this year and next year, and for everyone to keep to his own. If that happens, then there will not be any problems. During the independence period the situation was somewhat unusual, because in a manner of speaking we went into action on all levels of the government to convince as many people as possible and acquaint them with our cause and goals. Because of our interests, then there were also meetings that were not "on the right level." As long as you formally do not have a level, and you are not a state, of course it is necessary to do that first until you gain a state. We therefore accepted and visited people "below the level," but those were people who contributed substantially to our state's being recognized later.

[Jez] We can consequently conclude that your relationship with the prime minister will be more successful than it was between you, when you were prime minister, and then Foreign Minister Rupel?

[Peterle] It has been planned cooperatively, not competitively, and I do not envision the kind of situations that Rupel and I found ourselves in. I would not resume that, however. In short, I think that this relationship will be professional and cooperative, and in accordance with the defined jurisdictions.

[Jez] In the future, then, there will be less dirty laundry washed in front of the international public?

[Peterle] I do not see any need for washing laundry. I would not characterize it that way with respect to the past, either. An attempt was made to sell as dirty laundry the fact that I spoke critically about the Slovene Government in one of the neighboring countries. Of course, I did not say anything different than what I had said at home. It was the legitimate position of the president of one of the opposition parties. That is not washing dirty laundry. What was dirty was that I somehow had to be guilty of everything.

## Federal

### Prime Minister on Lifting of UN Sanctions

*LD1903122693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 19 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG)—The lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will depend on the realization of the political interests of certain members of the European Community (E.C.) or international communities, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said in an interview to Friday's [19 March] Belgrade weekly NIN.

The United Nations Security Council slapped harsh economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia last May for its alleged involvement in the war in the neighbouring former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The alleged reasons for the sanctions no longer exist," he said. Kontic added that "after some conditions [word indistinct] met, others will be made, i.e. other kinds of political concessions demanded, until these E.C. members achieve their political goals. The consequences of the sanctions are catastrophic," the prime minister said. "True, have not died [as received], but it is a question of what was the price for our survival."

The Yugoslav Gross National Product (GNP), which was 3,000 dollars per inhabitant in 1991, dropped by over 50 percent at the end of last year, he said.

In January, the average monthly wages amounted to 40 dollars according to the World Bank norms, which put daily minimum wages for securing an existence at one dollar, two-thirds of those employed live a borderline existence, Kontic said.

Speaking about his government's first moves after it began work on March 2, Kontic said that is will adapt to the current circumstances and "prepare a program for life under the sanctions."

According to him, the lowering of hyperinflation is not possible in conditions of an international embargo. The Federal Government can only "reduce inflation to the level which would enable the postponement of the economic collapse until the sanctions are lifted."

In February, Yugoslavia registered a world record inflation of 211.8 percent, i.e. an annual one million percent.

The stabilization of economic trends will be possible only after the opening of the economy and the reestablishment of the links with the world, Kontic said.

Only under such conditions will the Federal Government be able to come up with a serious and consistent stabilization program, he said.

### Government Supports Release of Bosnian POWs

*LD1803233293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 18 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Thursday [18 March] upheld the agreement on unconditional and unilateral release of prisoners of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, brokered by the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], adding it hoped the agreement will be respected by all sides in the conflict.

This was expressed in Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic's answer to ICRC President Cornelio Somarruga's letter in which he asked Yugoslavia to help in the implementation of an agreement reached by the warring factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the release of POWs [prisoners of war], the Federal Information Ministry announced.

The Yugoslav Government will offer necessary assistance and services for the realization of the forthcoming release of POWs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, ensure their transit and lodgings for those who wish to stay in Yugoslavia.

The president of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic, said on Tuesday that the Bosnian Serb authorities agreed to close all prisons under their control in a simultaneous operation from March 27 to 29.

The Bosnian Moslems and Croats are expected to do the same as agreed at a meeting in Geneva on March 6.

The three sides are to release over 2,700 POWs, as well as over 500 civilians held in house arrest according to ICRC figures, during this complex operation.

## Serbia

### Seselj Says Vance-Owen 'Trying To Deceive' Serbs

*LD1803231393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—At a news conference today Dr. Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, described as a "deception" promises given by "certain protagonists of world politics" to the Serbian people and to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that sanctions will be abolished if the Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina is signed.

"They are trying to deceive us in the same way as when they told us that if we sign the Vance plan for Croatia the European Community sanctions would be abolished, and when we signed it they wanted us to talk about "modalities". These "modalities" mean selling Serb

lands and putting forward demands for some kind of special status of Kosovo and Sandzak," Seselj believes. [passage omitted]

### Seselj Comments on Jugoskandik Affair, Crime

*AU1803174093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] At the regular news conference by the Serbian Radical Party, Party Chairman Vojislav Seselj presented the demand that the state should correctly reimburse Jugoskandik savers. Here is a report by Dragoljub Stankic:

[Begin recording] [Stankic] Customers deposited their money in private banks due to high interest rates although there were no firm guarantees, Seselj pointed out. State banks do not pay out foreign currency, but they cannot disappear overnight because the state guarantees them.

Regarding Jugoskandik, Serbian Radicals demand that after confiscating its property, the state reimburse the depositors according to the amount of deposits.

[Seselj] This means: First the deposits up to 500 German marks or U.S. dollars, then up to 1,000, 1,500, 2,000, and so on; continuing that way until there is money for reimbursement. Those people who deposited 100,000 or 200,000 German marks may be ruined, but we are not so sorry for them as we are about these poor people with meager amounts who deposited everything they possessed.

We are of the opinion that nobody should be paid interest rates at all from this remaining sum but that only principal should be paid out.

[Stankic] Vojislav Seselj insists that struggle against crime should be harshened and that a restrictive federal budget should be adopted. One should start a procedure in the Federal Assembly for revising the Criminal Code as it is outdated, Seselj said. One should follow the world standards and adopt a unified criminal code of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and abolish republican ones. [end recording]

### SPS To Return Jugoskandik Donation

*AU1803164893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has discussed donations, that is, more specifically, the 200,000 German marks that the Jugoskandik owner has given the Belgrade SPS City Committee for the electoral campaign. Here is what SPS Spokesman Ivica Dacic has said on this matter:

[Begin recording] At its session, the SPS Executive Committee ordered the Belgrade SPS City Committee to return the donation received from Jugoskandik and Mr. Jezdimir Vasiljevic, as it is obvious that the money did not come from the corporation's profit but from deceiving citizens. This money should be returned to Jugoskandik and be used to compensate the savers, primarily those with lowest deposits.

We are of the opinion that this donation that was made at the end of last year was according to law, that it was voluntary, and that nobody in the SPS has ever taken any measures with a view to extorting money from anybody.

All these insinuations and slander by the owner of Jugoskandik against the SPS and, of course, the general situation created about these cheated people who are still queuing in front of the Jugoskandik building has made the SPS Executive Committee decide to order the SPS City Committee to return that money to Jugoskandik, of course with the obligation to aim the money for reimbursing the savers who have obviously been deceived by the behavior of the Jugoskandik owner. [end recording]

### Sandzak Muslim Leader Views Present Policy

*AU1803205593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 10*

[Interview with Rasim Ljajic, the chairman of the Party of Democratic Action for Sandzak, by Zvonko Prijovic; place and date not given: "The Situation in Sandzak Is Becoming Alarming"]

[Text] According to the opinion of many analysts, Sandzak and Kosovo are the most dangerous of all possible conflict areas in the former Yugoslavia. Trying to prevent the war from spilling over from Bosnia to other regions, the West seems to have decided that Sandzak and Kosovo should remain in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The question of their autonomy is however still open. Ljajic, SDA [Party of Democratic Action] secretary general for Sandzak, speaks to BORBA about this and other current topics concerning Sandzak.

[Prijovic] How would you describe the present situation in Sandzak?

[Ljajic] The situation in this region is deteriorating from day to day because we can neither influence nor stop the evident ethnic cleansing in western Sandzak. The first stage of this process is already over; only from Priboj and Pljevlja 60 percent of the Muslims living there have already moved out. The connection between Sandzak and Bosnia has been broken. This area is being cleared now with the aim of making a corridor between eastern Herzegovina and Serbia because it stands out like a wedge between Serbia and Montenegro. We can confirm that the process of ethnic cleansing is being transferred from Priboj and Pljevlja to Prijepolje, because the two rightwing parties—the Serbian Radical Party and the Serbian National Renewal—openly criticized coexistence in the region at the latest meetings in Prijepolje. The second factor influencing the ethnic cleansing is economic pressure. I want to say that the dismissal of Muslim employees has started already.

**We Are Not Asking For Secession**

[Prijovic] Some Muslims, especially educated people, left Priboj not because of pressure but because of fear.

[Ljajic] Although there is no direct pressure or physical intimidation, many forms of physical pressure can be felt: There is a larger army and police presence on the streets, there is shooting in towns every day, etc.. A special media war is being conducted. We are being accused of sending our students in Turkey for military training instead of to university. We have already asked for a CSCE delegation to go to Turkey and check if our boys and girls are studying there or not. We expect the first factual report about this soon.

[Prijovic] The question of autonomy for this region seems to be still open.

[Ljajic] We have not at all raised the question of the secession of Sandzak so far. As far as the form of our autonomy is concerned, we shall fight for Muslims to have their human, national, cultural and other rights. We do not want their identity and existence to be endangered. Through negotiations and dialogue we hope to reach a satisfactory long-term solution for both the Serbs and the Muslims in Sandzak. At the moment, possible autonomy is determined by the level of civil and other forms of freedom in society. The less democracy there is, the more aspirations for autonomy there are.

[Prijovic] To what extent is the SDA for Sandzak interested in the negotiations between the three warring parties in Bosnia?

[Ljajic] The latest Geneva plan only confirms the products of ethnic cleansing all over Bosnia. I think that it is not practicable, not only as regards the territory, but also as regards the constitutional principles for the creation of the ten mini-states. If the Vance-Owen plan is materialized, we shall insist on a corridor connection of one Bosnian province with the areas populated by a Muslim majority in this part of Yugoslavia. It seems however that the international community is more interested in preventing the war from spilling over to other regions than in halting it in Bosnia itself.

[Prijovic] The Muslims from this area are said to be the most fanatical members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is true about the participation of the people from Sandzak in the war in Bosnia?

[Ljajic] The problem lies in the fact that not a single name has been mentioned, just large numbers. You have to remember that over 250,000 people from Sandzak live in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They built their houses there, they are employed there and are therefore treated as citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is why they are fighting in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are just trying to defend their homes and towns.

**The Decentralization of Sandzak**

[Prijovic] The CSCE mission for Sandzak has been situated in Novi Pazar for several months now. Does its presence contribute to the stabilization of the general situation?

[Ljajic] Absolutely. The presence of the monitors from several European countries is useful, especially in the psychological sense. We asked for the mission to be enlarged in order to be more efficient. We have been informed that a permanent representation of the Novi Pazar CSCE mission will also be organized in Prijepolje. These people will be in charge of western Sandzak, the communes of Priboj and Prijepolje and the border area toward Pljevlja. I believe that the mission will successfully mediate in dialogues also in this region, despite the many problems they have. Its presence is most useful for safety reasons.

[Prijovic] Does the SDA still want the complete demilitarization of Sandzak?

[Ljajic] Yes. This is still one of our short-term and long-term requirements, and we shall insist on that. The Serbs and Muslims are capable of preserving peace in this region without the presence of the Yugoslav Army. The events in Bosnia show that we are right when we say that people from outside can only cause additional animosities among the local people. The Muslims know that there is no alternative to negotiations, but in spite of that there are rumors the they are arming themselves. What chance could 350,000 Muslims have, even if they should have the best weapons, in a conflict with the other side which is much more numerous? It is clear that some people on both sides are armed, but the Muslims in general have no chance of buying large quantities of weapons. Therefore I repeat: As far as the Muslims are concerned, the war option is out of question, but I fear that these rumors are only a pretext for something which might happen.

[Prijovic] The SDA for Sandzak and the Muslin National Council have been very active recently.

[Ljajic] Like other political organizations, we are also affected by the information blockade. Radio Novi Pazar has passed a decision recently not to broadcast information from the Muslim National Council because this organization is not recognized by the state. There is a high wall between the two opposing parties here, but I hope that the Geneva group in charge of Sandzak will enable a dialogue between the two parties and internationalize this problem. I shall visit the U.S.A. in March and inform the representatives of the new U.S. Administration on the situation in Sandzak. In any case, the SDA for Sandzak will also in future support a peaceful solution to all unsolved problems.

[Box, p 10]

**Kidnapping Organized by Official Authorities**

Answering to the question concerning the kidnapping of Muslims from the train on the Belgrade-Bar route, Mr. Ljajic says:

"It is evident that this was also a part of the ethnic cleansing of western Sandzak—according to the town-by-town principle. Most Muslims have already moved out of Priboj and Pljevlja, and now Prijepolje and Bijelo Polje have to be cleared. These are towns with approximately equal Muslim and Serbian populations. We have reasons to suspect that this kidnapping was prepared by the official authorities and various paramilitary groups under the sponsorship of Belgrade. That is why the official Serbian authorities cannot be pardoned."

## Montenegro

### Commentary Views Military Ties With Serbia

*AU1803202993 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 14,15*

[Commentary by Vladimir Jovanovic: "Dreams of Non-commissioned Officers"]

[Text] The Yugoslav Army General Staff reacted instantaneously. The U.S. decision to drop humanitarian aid to Bosnia from the air was received by Belgrade generals with the command that "certain measures had to be taken." The decision to take certain measures means not only that the units of the Air Force and the Air Defense have been put on alert, but also that Yugoslav Army units will be engaged beyond the Drina River. Serbian units are already present in Bosnia-Herzegovina—terrorist and sabotage units from Pancevo have been in Krajina for a long time now, conducting operations against the rear echelons in Croatia, and units from the Uzice Corps are already active on the left bank of the Drina River in Bosnia-Herzegovina and near Rudo. There are indications however that the Yugoslav Army could engage larger units on the other side of the Drina River. On the other hand, it is feared in military circles that general mobilization might fail because the calling up of reservists in some Belgrade districts has been disastrous. In one local commune in Belgrade the rate of response has not even reached 10 percent.

With this number of soldiers, the Yugoslav Army is not able to carry out major operations, especially if they have to be backed by the infantry. According to General Vladimir Stojanovic, the commander of the First Army, approximately 50 percent of all soldiers are draftees. Professional soldiers are also being engaged, but it is not sure yet whether this has improved the quality of operations. Apart from that, there is a lack of discipline in the Army, and the draftees—especially from Montenegro—are the first to feel this. Soldiers are being mistreated, and there is also the tyrannical behavior of the officers, who—among other things—require that soldiers declare themselves as Serbs. This leads to humiliation and insults.

**Caring for the Home-Country**

The importance of the Army in domestic politics is growing, especially concerning relations between Belgrade and Podgorica. Last Tuesday [2 March], in a meeting held at the Central Club of the Yugoslav Army, a new strategy was discussed with the aim of "securing the existence of the state of Yugoslavia, that is to say to prevent its disintegration into two national states, because this is a necessary prerequisite for the protection of Serbs living outside Serbia."

General Radovan Radinovic, the head of the Division for Strategic Studies and Defense Policy, which is one of the top positions in the Yugoslav Army, stressed that it was very important to be prepared "for a quick and efficient intervention with the appropriate means and methods in case of an internal crisis." The units to be used in such a case would surely include the 63rd Parachute Brigade, which is being intensively trained for special operations in eastern Serbia....

Although very careful, Podgorica has no reason now to be greatly concerned. Overt military pressure on Podgorica would mean the final collapse of the Belgrade policy toward Montenegro, and [President] Bulatovic has no reason whatsoever to push things forward because time is working for him now more than ever. He knows very well that the appointment of Pavle Bulatovic as minister of defense will not (in the least) improve his influence on the Yugoslav Army structures. On the contrary.

**"Zeta" [historical name of Montenegro] operation**

At the beginning of last December, the Ministry of Defense Board, an institution unknown until that time, made itself known by issuing a statement asking for the then Defense Minister Milan Panic to resign. There was much guesswork about who the members of this board were, but to no avail. It is not known that this informal board, consisting mainly of retired high-ranking officers with greater-Serbian pedigrees, at least partially creates the Yugoslav Army policy. Apart from General Dusan Pekic, whose role in the preparation of the war with Croatia is more or less known, another member of this board is also General Radojica Nenezic.

General Nenezic is said to have been Montenegrin until 1948. He then started declaring himself as a Croat because he felt the danger facing all young Montengrin officers because of their [pro-Stalinist, anti-Titoist] attitudes in the conflict with the Soviet Union in 1948. For General Nenezic, the change of nationality meant promotion at work, especially as long as General Ivan Gosnjak [Croatian] was the head of the Army. At that time he particularly distinguished himself by harassing Montenegrin officers. Soon he was appointed commander of the Yugoslav Army Ninth Corps (Novi Sad).

He took on his new duties with the following words: "I shall break up this Montenegrin hotbed!" Nenezic is also said to have been involved in the violent death of the young Montenegrin officer Radojica Skuletic. This is not everything: The skilled Nenezic decided to become a high-quality Serb several years ago and is now one of the creators of the "new role of the Yugoslav Army."

The third important man in the Ministry of Defense is General Ljubomir Domazetovic, who, until recently, tried hard to deprive Montenegro of its own Ministry of Defense. Domazetovic comes from Zeta, where the people have recently demonstrated "light" power against the Montenegrin leadership. MONITOR's sources state that Serbia's intelligence service and its state security police stand behind these demonstrations, which were wholeheartedly supported by Domazetovic. According to MONITOR's sources this is also a part of the plan to shake Montenegro, since the conflict on the federal level in Belgrade is considered to be almost dramatic.

**Strollers and Cowards**

The following details make the mosaic complete: As one of the organizers of the demonstrations in Zeta, a certain Simon Djuretic from the Ministry of Communications with Serbia appeared. His minister is Mr. Radmilo Bogdanovic, the former (official) head man of the Serbian police, who is now the leading (secret) personality of the state security police of Serbia. There are also rumors that a relative of the above said Simon, the historian Veselin Djuretic, was also seen in the election campaign meeting of the Ecological Movement of Montenegro in Zeta. The General Dimitrije Baucal is also said to be involved in this demonstration, and he was warmly welcomed at the reception at which Veselin Djuretic received the "Slobodan Jovanovic" prize. This we give just as a piece of information.

The importance of Bulatovic's victory over Belgrade—he did not want to give in to pressures from Belgrade and deprive Montenegro of its Ministry of Defense—can be confirmed by General Radinovic's statement made in the above said meeting in the Central Club of the Yugoslav Army. He said there that "the responsibility for defense had to lie with the state and state authorities and not with certain 'quasistate' authorities and organizations," alluding to Montenegrin autonomy as far as the national defense is concerned.

What would it mean if Montenegrin policy further supported the Serbian war policy—considering the statement by General Stevanovic that the rejection of the Vance-Owen plan would be an "act of patriotism?" Who in Podgorica would dare place the Montenegrins at General Mladic's disposal? He is being praised by the Serbian press, which forgets that he had been a worker at "Teleoptika" in Zemun and took courses to become an officer and, having obtained massive weaponry from the Yugoslav Army, simply razed everything to ground in Bosnia?!

What can be said about Nedeljko Boskovic, a man who had already retired and, owing to the efforts of Branko Kostic, became a general only because Kostic heard about his dirty work in Kosovo. He was promoted to general in spite of the fact that he does not have a high military education and although he was only a non-commissioned officer known by his mocking nickname of "Stroller"....

Not to mention General Baucal, a corporal by profession, formerly an honest "Titoist", and an ostensible Serbian nationalist later on. Or that fabulous soldier, Zivota Panic, who, after suffering hunger and cold in the maneuvers held in Serbia at the beginning of this year, went to a motel in Cuprija and led an unseen assault on a mountain of pork .... Should Montenegrins still allow themselves to be commanded by General Stojanovic, a man who was some time ago disciplined with a "promotion freeze" for beating draftees?

From the point of view of the present situation and coming events, it cannot be expected that the situation will improve. Even if the war in Bosnia should slowly calm down, which cannot be seen yet, there is still the danger of a conflict in Kosovo. As long as the present or a similar leadership is in power, Serbia will not be able to avoid constant war tensions, and even largescale destruction. Montenegrins can choose between two clearly defined options: a war of extermination or the restoration of its independence as a guarantee for its neutrality.